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The Outlook

April 9, 1924

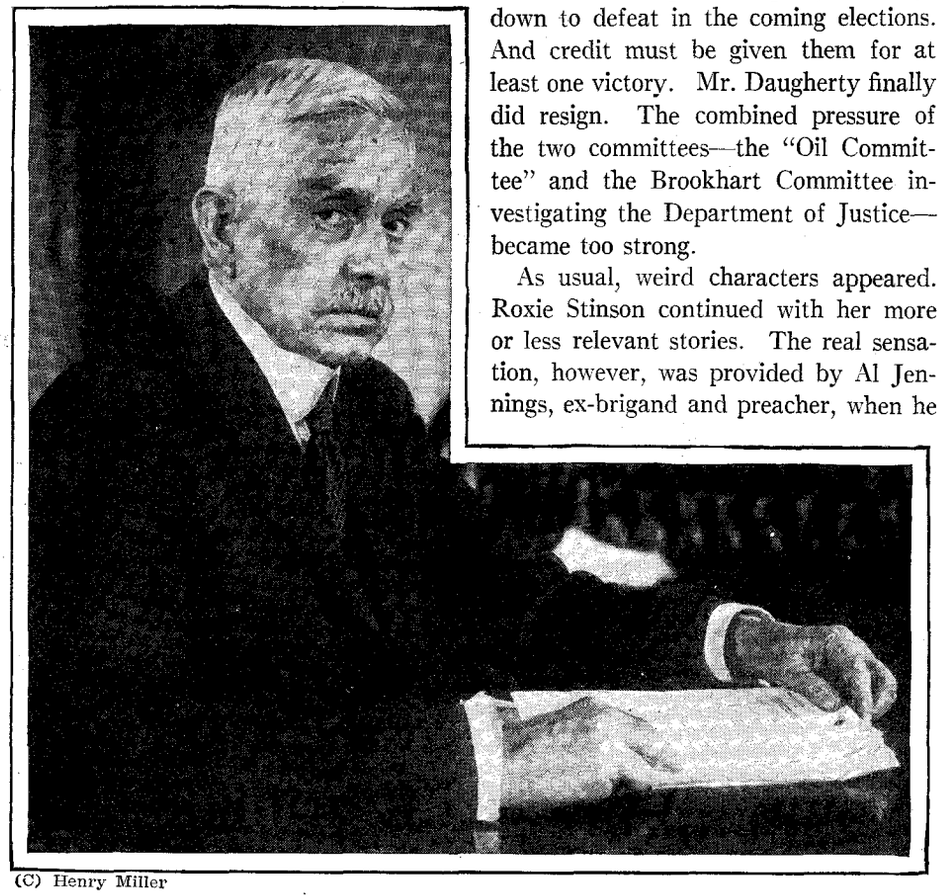
Oil and the Future

SOME expert engineers declare that the natural oil supply of the United States will be exhausted in about twenty years. If that is true, and it is by no means certain that it is not true, then it is obvious that before long the safety of the Nation might be seriously jeopardized in time of war if there were not on hand a large reserve of oil for the Navy.

Appropriately, then, the President has named a special commission to study the best means of conserving the oil reserves, to ascertain as nearly as possible what oil there is now in natural reservoirs, and to plan for the storing of a quantity sufficient to care for the Navy's future needs.

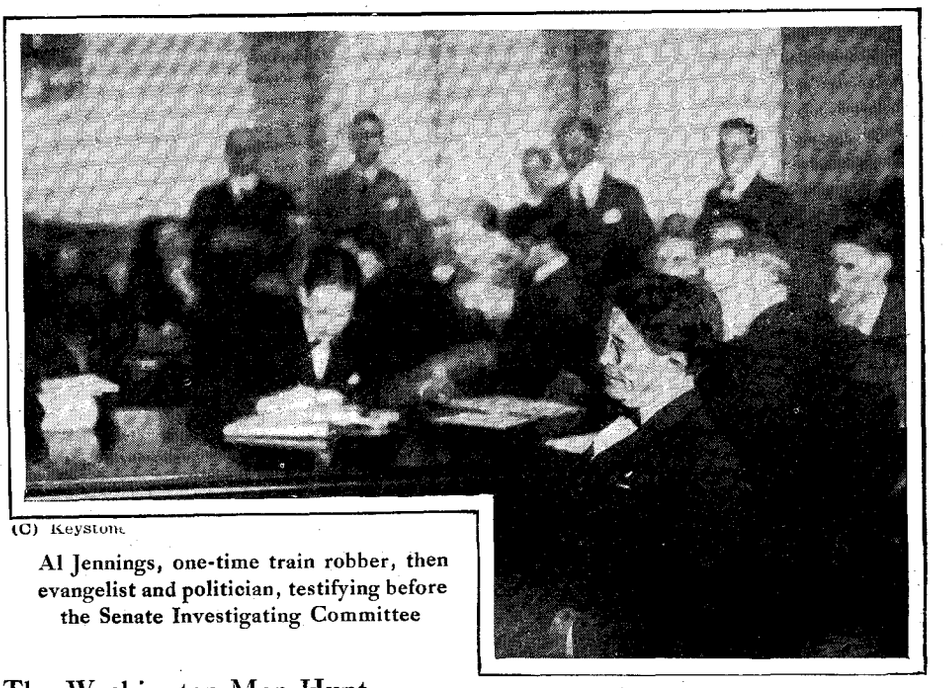
Composing the commission are Dr. George O. Smith, Director of the Geological Survey; Rear-Admiral Hilary P. Jones; and R. D. Bush, of the Bureau of Mineralogy of the State of California.

This survey comes a little late in the day. A few years more and the reservation of oil may become a subject proper to museums of natural history only.



(C) Henry Miller

Rear-Admiral Hilary P. Jones, U. S. N., who will assist the Commission appointed by President Coolidge to plan means of conserving the great oil deposits



(C) Keystone

Al Jennings, one-time train robber, then evangelist and politician, testifying before the Senate Investigating Committee

The Washington Man Hunt

IT has long been obvious, of course, that certain Democrats have planned to attack the members of the Cabinet, one by one, thus keeping up their investigations all summer, in an attempt thereby so to discredit the Administration that the Republican party would go down to defeat in the coming elections. And credit must be given them for at least one victory. Mr. Daugherty finally did resign. The combined pressure of the two committees—the "Oil Committee" and the Brookhart Committee investigating the Department of Justice—became too strong.

As usual, weird characters appeared. Roxie Stinson continued with her more or less relevant stories. The real sensation, however, was provided by Al Jennings, ex-brigand and preacher, when he related how Jake Hamon in 1920 had told him of spending $1,000,000 to get Mr. Harding elected. For all of his generosity to influential politicians Mr. Hamon was to become Secretary of the Interior if Harding were elected. Of course this was merely Jennings's report of what Hamon told Jennings about what somebody else told him. Hamon was probably drunk when he told this. At least this is a charitable way to account for the story.

Nevertheless Mr. Daugherty did actually resign, and that is something. It was not the Oil Committee, however, which seemed to furnish the last straw. The Brookhart Committee did its part. It demanded early in the week that Mr. Daugherty furnish the Committee with the evidence his office possessed concerning gun-running into Mexico. Daugherty refused to turn this evidence over on the ground that to do so would be contrary to the public interest. This brought the storm to a head as far as the Brookhart Committee was concerned. Daugherty was thus placed in the position of deciding what evidence should be withheld in his own case. Representations were made to the President, who finally asked for and received Mr. Daugherty's resignation.

Mr. Daugherty being out of the way, Senator McKellar introduced a resolution to investigate the next victim. This was Andrew Mellon, an adversary worthy of the best efforts of any number

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of such committees combined. And in the background, by way of chorus, Senator Dill kept on insisting that Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt had been more to blame than Denby in letting the Naval Reserves go.

With these two attacks Republican leaders, who have been disconcertingly futile during these weeks of attack and calumny, awoke to the needs of the occasion. In reply to the charge that Secretary Mellon's corporation connections disqualified him for his position, Senator Reed recounted the steps Mr. Mellon had taken in giving up every office and selling all stock whose possession could in the least way be considered contrary to the law covering such matters. In fact, it was so obvious that Mr. Mellon had made very real sacrifices, and for the highest of motives, in accepting his position that not only was the resolution tabled and practically killed, but responsible Democratic leaders made it clear that they would support no such attack on the Secretary of the Treasury.

Then Senator Wadsworth stated in a seemingly conclusive manner, not only that Mr. Roosevelt had had no connection with oil interests since 1917, when he joined the Army previous to going to France, but that, so far from approving the transfer of the Reserves, he had done what he could to save them for the Navy.

What Do the Primaries Signify?

PRESIDENTIAL primaries this year are not exciting a great deal of general interest. The reason is simple. Nobody believes that they are going to determine the nominations.

In the Republican party they have furnished side-lights on the state of opinion in certain sections of the country. Dissatisfaction already made evident by the election of such Senators as Brookhart and Shipstead has shown itself this year in the three-cornered race in North Dakota in which President Coolidge got a plurality, but far from a majority, and in the primaries in South Dakota, where Hiram Johnson won by a narrow margin. What seems surprising is not the evidence of unrest, but the evidence of the apparent hold that President Coolidge has upon a large body of the voters in these two States. Senator Johnson has been carrying on a campaign mainly of criticism and condemnation; but he has not made the impression upon the Republican voters that he did four years ago. And there is no one else to challenge President Coolidge's position.

Question Box

I

Have you sent in your ballot for The Outlook's "Platforms of the People"?

II

Do you wish any extra copies of the ballot for your club, grange, union, family, or friends?

III

What weight has popular opinion with political platform-makers?

In the Democratic primaries in South Dakota Mr. McAdoo won, as every one had reason to expect he would.

Twelve years ago the whole country was stirred by the contest between Taft and Roosevelt in the Presidential primaries. At that time many believed that the convention system might be superseded by a method of nominations directly in the primaries; to-day nothing seems less probable.

The Goose-Step to Valhalla

THE curtain has finally gone down on the proud and smiling hero, his chest covered with medals, his arms full of flowers, and backed by a vociferously cheering chorus. The trial is over. Ludendorff was not guilty. Ludendorff is free. Hoch! The public applauds noisily.

The trial took over a month. Never were there such long and tedious orations, only interrupted when prisoners lost their tempers and got up and went home. And when the orations were over, the Court settled the whole affair in a five-minute reading of the verdict. Hitler, a less noble soul, had to take what amounts to six months in jail. He also received a large bouquet. Other less important persons were properly sentenced to jail and fines. All in all, it was a most satisfactory trial and every one seems pleased. Except, perhaps, the villain. Every plot must have a villain. There does not seem to be a very obvious one in this drama, however. Perhaps it is none other than the German Republic itself!

Anyway, Herr Ludendorff, who was to command the army in the great revolution, even though it brought on another war with France, was not guilty, after all, and that is something. Perhaps he owes freedom to his amazing speech of last week, in which he praised himself highly for his great victories in the past —"the victor of Tannenberg and other big battles—a representative of the old army which was crowned with everlasting fame!" How could one condemn such a patriot, especially when he declared that the judges themselves sat "before the judgment of history, which does not send men who fought for the Fatherland to a fortress, but to Valhalla"!

It is very probable that very many thoughtful Germans could wish nothing better than Valhalla for Ludendorff himself, for Hindenburg, for Tirpitz, for the All Highest, and, in fact, for the whole military oligarchy, with the devout wish that this great reward had come about in the year 1913.

Poincaré, Out and In

WHEN news came that Poincaré had fallen, there was premature jubilation as well as premature dismay. Those who have been vexed with France for her success in the Ruhr have concentrated a good deal of their animosity on the French Premier, and when the vote was taken which showed a majority against his Government some of the opponents of the French Ruhr policy, even among the political enemies of Poincaré in France, took no pains to conceal their pleasure.

Even if Poincaré had met a real defeat, there would have been no occasion for such rejoicing. The Ruhr policy is not exclusively Poincaré's. The insistence upon reparations and security does not depend upon the political life of any one man. As it happened, Poincaré was back again as the President of the Council of Ministers in a few hours. The majority against him was an accident, partly due to errors in the voting of proxies. The vote, however, afforded him an opportunity to change one or two of his Ministers; now in place of Lasteyrie as Minister of Finance, for example, he has taken Loucheur, together with some others of his recent opponents.

Whether M. Poincaré can survive the May elections remains uncertain; but whether he does or not, what he has accomplished is not going easily to be destroyed. He has made the occupation of the Ruhr a factor in the European situation which every other country must reckon with; and he has established firmly the policy in France of meeting financial obligations by the increase of taxes, and of making it a point of honor

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I know a discontented gentleman

(Richard III, Act IV, Scene 2)

Orr in the Rochester Democrat

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Fertile Soil

From Mrs. A. Todd, Rochester, N. Y.

Sykes in the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger

Just waking up

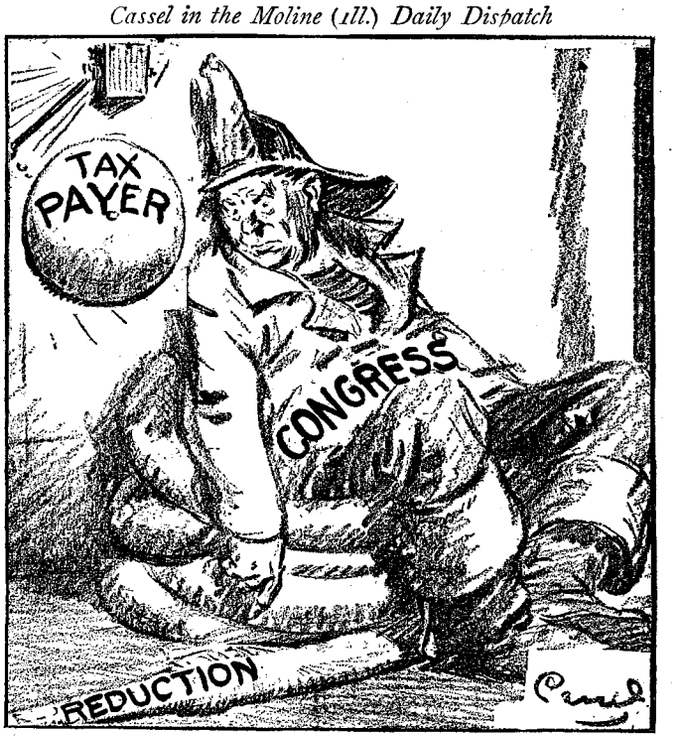
From Mrs. Evan G. Beach, Philadelphia, Pa

Dorman H. Smith in the Bridgeport (Ct.) Evening Star

"The Speed Demon

From Miss L. V. Lee, Devon, Conn.

Cassel in the Moline (Ill.) Daily Dispatch



"The Third Alarm!"

From Robert Blackwell, Moline, Ill.

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with the Government to incur no new expenses without providing the corresponding revenue.

On these two points M. Millerand, President of the Republic, has openly supported the Premier. M. Millerand believes the President should be something more than a figurehead, and he is putting his theory into practice.

Churchill Wins in Defeat

FOR nearly one hundred years no one has taken much interest in elections in the "Abbey Division," as the Borough of Westminster is called. Once it was remembered because Charles Fox won his seat through the help of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, who campaigned for him with kisses and heard as she drove past the prettiest compliment ever paid a duchess by a tinker, "Sure, I could light my pipe from your eyes."

Since then the division, which takes its name from Westminster Abbey and claims thereby to be the heart of the Empire, has been pretty consistently a Tory pocket borough even down to this day, when the machine gave the nomination to Otto Nicholson, nephew of the late member, because, as the young man so happily put it, "My uncle had sunk so much money in the borough I think I ought to have it." The money came from "Nicholson's Gin," and every public house in the district worked for the "regular" Tory candidate.

And he would have had it without difficulty, instead of having to fight for it, if many Conservatives, disgusted with the party machine, had not wished to put up Winston Churchill.

It was twenty years ago that Winston Churchill was won over from the Conservatives to the Liberals; but he has now become convinced that the only issue of importance in the country lies between the Socialists and what might be called the Constitutionalists. It was on this issue that he made his canvass in the Abbey Division. In that he was supported by some of the best-known Conservatives, like Lord Balfour, and by the whole Northcliffe press, now the Beaverbrook-Rothermere papers. In his fight he had three opponents; two of them, the Liberal and the Conservative, had been imprisoned as conscientious objectors during the war. This was in the district holding the Cenotaph to the Unknown Soldier. What the Liberals apparently hoped to do was, not to win, but to draw enough votes from "Winnie," as his followers call him, to enable the regular Conservative to win. They succeeded. They polled less than three hundred votes, but Nicholson won by forty-three.

As a consequence of this canvass Winston Churchill has not suffered any political humiliation. On the contrary, as "Nemo" in the London "Outlook" puts it:

> Few election results in our history have so increased the prestige of the loser, and after what happened at Westminster, Mr. Churchill seems certain of winning the next, or the next but one, constituency that he fights.

Investigating the Air

ANOTHER investigation is starting in Congress. What is more, it is another aircraft investigation. The aircraft industry in the Army and Navy service seems always to be under investigation or on the verge of it. This time, however, some truth may come out of it. Unsubstantiated charges have been made frequently on the floor of Congress. If one-tenth of the charges made were true, scarcely an officer in the Air Service of the Government or a man engaged in the aircraft industry could avoid complicity in treason or murder.

What has not been brought out is the source of these accusations. That we hope will be one of the first duties of the committee to ascertain. The committee may find it possible at this time to ascertain the identity and character of those agencies that have obstructed the progress of aviation in this country.

We need a National aviation law. There is a very good bill now before Congress—the Winslow Bill—to establish proper regulations over civilian aviation. It does not seem likely, however, that we can get any such law of the air until we find out what has prevented proper legislation heretofore.

New Marvels Every Day

RADIO'S triumphs of one day are usually followed by greater triumphs in the next. One sits in Yonkers and hears a hotel orchestra in London. Englishmen indignantly protest that their listening-in Sundays are utterly ruined by American preachers! A runaway boy from a suburb of Philadelphia is caught before he has got twenty miles in his father's flivver. And now a National crisis has been avoided in the nick of time. Radio saved the day!

Tiger, the President's favorite cat, was lost. There was a prodigious scurrying about and hunting, but of Tiger not a sign. Quick to the rescue came Radio, and before long a man hastened into the White House with Tiger, safe and sound, in his arms. Peace descended. Again the murmurs of all the little investigating committees arose like the sound of crickets after a storm.

Some there were in whose suspicious hearts grim doubt did lurk. How did that animal get away? That was the question! Radio was stumped. It did not know. From very trustworthy press reports, however, it is delicately hinted that Senator Walsh let the cat out of the bag.

International

Lord Rothermere, brother of the late Lord Northcliffe

There the Resemblance Ends

THOSE who are inclined to make generalizations concerning nations and races might study profitably the faces of Lord Rothermere and Robert Bridges, two of our most recent visitors from Great Britain. Here we have men, both writers, both Englishmen, but there the resemblance ends. Lord Rothermere, the younger brother of Lord Northcliffe, and successor to his brother's control of many British journals, bears little resemblance, physical or otherwise, to the man who succeeded to the Laureateship upon the death of Alfred Austin. Lord Rothermere has come to this country to study the practices of American journalism. Robert Bridges has come to America to contribute to the education of American youth. He is to have an exchange professorship in the University of Michigan.

Great Britain has had greater Laureates than Robert Bridges, but it has

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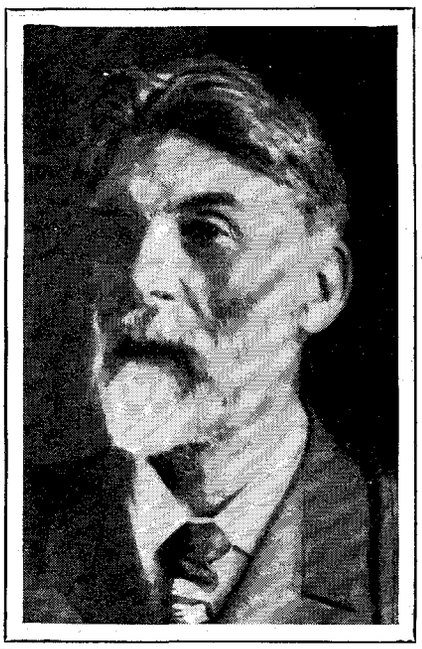

Keystone

Dr. Robert Bridges, England's Poet Laureate

also had many who have been very much inferior to him as an artist and as a thinker. His work has been restrained, precise, and delicate. One phase of his restraint certainly entitles him to a measure of real distinction. He has refrained from the casual and formal celebration of royal events—a fact for which lovers of poetry have been duly thankful. A memory of some of the effusions produced by certain English Laureates does not increase our respect for that ancient office.

Robert Bridges does occupy a worthy place in the field of British poetry. Students who have an opportunity to come into contact with his mind will be fortunate.

Defeating an Unreasoning Prejudice

IN November, 1922, the country was surprised by the passage in Oregon of a law obviously planned to destroy the parochial schools, but including the private schools in general in order to avoid the open charge of religious discrimination. This law provided that parents and guardians of children between eight and sixteen must send them to public schools during the public school term. The observance of this law would abolish parochial and private schools in short order.

The bill, originally proposed by the Scottish Rite Masons, was supported by the Federated Patriotic Societies, and, of course, by the Ku Klux Klan—obviously an attack on the Catholic schools. Of course there is always an element that looks upon all private schools as undemocratic institutions and who, for that reason, would support such a bill, not counting the others who would support it simply because of social prejudices and jealousies.

Confirming the belief of many, the Federal Court in Portland has just declared the law unconstitutional. It stated that the Constitutional rights of parents would be contravened as much as would be the rights of the institutions making the complaint against the law, for these would be illegally deprived of their property.

Although Governor Walter M. Pierce declares the case will be appealed to the United States Supreme Court, it seems that both schools and parents in Oregon will have ample protection in their Constitutional rights. To make the public school supplant by law all private schools is not democracy—it is tyranny; and none the less tyranny if imposed upon a minority by a majority. The State has the right and duty to offer the public school as an opportunity for all, and to require all schools to conform to minimum standards. But it ceases to be democratic when it tries to force all children through a common mold.

A Landscape Once More

IT really happens, sometimes, that news is too good to be true. And this is such a case. When one can travel, let us say, from New York to Philadelphia, and see clearly that at times one is actually passing through woods or through meadows, when one can occasionally see some real cows grazing in a real pasture instead of gigantic painted wooden bovines eternally being milked by enormous painted wooden milkmaids, when you can see homely red barns as you pass instead of structures seemingly planned to carry notices concerning Timkin's Tinted Tablets or some other medicine—when, let us say, the landscape once more appears, then we shall really believe that the signboard curse is on its way to oblivion.

Mrs. W. L. Lawton, Chairman of the National Committee for Restriction of Outdoor Advertising, has announced that fifteen large users of highway billboards have promised to remove all objectionable signs and those marring the scenic effect of countrysides. Herbert L. Pratt, President of the Standard Oil Company of New York, whose signs we have seen in innumerable places, confirms Mrs. Lawton's announcement as far as his company goes. He has stated that when all of the present billboard contracts expire, his company will have concentrated all of its signs to the vicinity of garages and stations. "We will welcome," says Mr. Pratt, "suggestions from any organization or individual as to ways in which our company can forward this important work."

Other concerns which have agreed to carry out the same plan as that proposed by the Standard Oil Company of New York are:

> Kirkman & Son, soap; Kelly-Springfield Tire Company, Pillsbury Flour Mills Company, Washburn-Crosby Company, Standard Oil Company of California, Champion Spark Plug Company, B. F. Goodrich Rubber Company, Sun Oil Company, Hood Rubber Company, Ajax Rubber Company, Ward Baking Company, Dodge Brothers, Gulf Refining Company, the Fleischmann Company, yeast.

Innumerable signs of all kinds along highways and scattered relentlessly throughout some of our most beautiful stretches of country have done much to destroy, not only scenic beauty, but a great deal of the pleasure of automobile touring, and even mountain "hiking." The women who have organized against the promiscuous billboard and the companies that are to co-operate in removing them are achieving a really important public service.

Three Million Acres of Forest

IF Congress does anything at this session, it is rather more likely than not to enact some worth-while forest conservation measures. That is to say, these measures appear to have the good will of all factions, and Congress, if it can bring itself to act at all, will probably pass them.

One of these measures is a resolution under which, probably, 3,000,000 acres of land already in the National Forests will be kept from the control of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. These lands are mostly in Montana, Idaho, and Washington, and, under the strict letter of the law, they appear to be the property of the Railroad Company.

The title runs from an act of Congress of 1864 by which, in consideration for building a railway from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, the Northern Pacific Railroad Company was granted each alternate section of land in a strip forty miles wide and as long as the proposed line of railway. Under this grant, the Northern

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(C) Harris & Ewing

Governor Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to urge the passage of Senator McNary's bill for the conservation of forests. Around the table, left to right, Senators J. B. Kendrick, of Wyoming, and J. E. Ransdell, of Louisiana; W. L. Day, official stenographer; Governor Pinchot; Senators G. W. Norris, of Nebraska, Chairman; Charles L. McNary, of Oregon, and Arthur Capper, of Kansas

Pacific has already received more than 40,000,000 acres of land, worth to-day many times over more than the railway itself. Recently the road set up claim under this old grant to about 3,000,000 acres of land that for fifteen years past have been under the control of the United States Forest Service, which has improved the timber stand and built extensive roads.

The Forest Service—indeed, the entire Department of Agriculture, to which the Service belongs—began a policy of resistance. Secretary Wallace submitted to President Coolidge the suggestion that the Northern Pacific has already received a great deal more than, in equity, it is entitled to, and that the Department of the Interior be requested to transfer no more lands until the entire matter can be thoroughly investigated. The President transmitted the suggestion, with a strong recommendation of his own, to Congress. The Public Lands Committees of both houses have held hearings upon the question, and are apparently ready to report the resolution favorably.

Adoption of the resolution will not mean, necessarily, that the lands will be withheld from the Northern Pacific. It will mean, however, that the entire business of passing title to lands will be held in abeyance until the question of equity can be determined. Few disinterested men will believe that, in justice, the Government owes anything more to the Northern Pacific.

For Fighting the Fire Menace

THE McNary Bill, which is in favorable position in committees of both houses, contains provisions which are, perhaps, more essential to the right sort of permanent forest policy than any other bill that has been before Congress since the forest lands were placed under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture. This bill would provide $3,000,000 a year for the purchase of additional forest lands. Important as that provision is, the bill has an even more essential side—the provision for Federal and State co-operation in preventing and controlling forest fires.

Protection of the forests from fire has long been the greatest need in connection with conserving our National timber resources. Fires every year sweep over about 7,500,000 acres of forest lands. While the destruction is not so tremendous as the figures would appear to indicate, it is serious enough. The timber on a fire-swept forest area is not totally destroyed. In many instances the damage to mature trees is comparatively slight. The greater loss from forest fires is to the future rather than to the present. Trees may be only damaged, but the tender seedlings are destroyed, the stand of timber that would have served the next generation killed in its infancy, so that when the maturing stand is cut there will be nothing to take its place. Until we can control forest fires we have taken out no effective insurance for our children against a timber famine.

The McNary Bill would provide an annual appropriation of $2,500,000 for fire protection under a system that, the Forest Service and foresters generally believe, would come as near to preventing forest fires as is reasonably possible. The appropriation is not as large as foresters think it should be, but it is a start.

Other matters—extension of forest holdings, conservative cutting policies, reforestation—can wait a little if they must. The present Congress will have done something to mitigate its offense of investigational idleness if it makes a good law for forest-fire prevention.

Mr. Daugherty's Resignation

THE manner of Mr. Daugherty's going is almost a calamity; the fact of his going is a most welcome benefit.

Wholly apart from anything that may have been proven or intimated in the Senate investigation of the Attorney-General and his conduct of the Department of Justice, there has been abundant reason for regarding Harry M. Daugherty as unfit for the office he has occupied. He was not appointed because he was the best lawyer among all possible appointees; he was not appointed because he was exceptional in character and ability; he was appointed because

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he was a personal and political friend of President Harding's without whose aid Mr. Harding probably would never have become President. In the politics of Ohio Mr. Daugherty had been an astute and hard fighter; but he had never shown any statesmanship or any indications of those qualities of mind that the American people have a right to expect in those who occupy high executive office. That he had been popular in certain circles, loyal to his political associates, observant of the rules of the game of politics as politicians play it, may readily be conceded; but when he was appointed Attorney-General partisan opponents saw at once in him a point of weakness in the Administration which they could attack, and friends and supporters of the Administration had reason to fear the consequences of trying to defend it. As a reputation for courage is necessary in a successful leader in battle, so a reputation for a peculiar kind of integrity is necessary for the successful administrator of the Department of Justice. Practices which public opinion tolerates in party politics are not suitable in caring for the interests of the United States in courts of law. Mr. Daugherty was primarily a politician. The very admiration which he won from his opponents as a skillful political manipulator was a liability to him as Attorney-General.

The service which the Senate investigation of the Department of Justice under Mr. Daugherty has rendered has consisted in putting into dramatic form before the whole country the weaknesses of Mr. Daugherty, which were the real sources of the country's lack of confidence in him. The Senate investigating committee has brought out upon the stage characters who seem to personify Mr. Daugherty's weaknesses in office. Nothing of a criminal nature, nothing indicating definitely malfeasance in office, has been proven against Mr. Daugherty in this investigation; but enough has been shown concerning his associates, his manner of conducting his office, his general attitude toward his duties and toward public life, to make it appear that he never was fit to be Attorney-General. It may remain undecided in many people's minds whether Mr. Daugherty has been shown guilty of official wrong-doing. Unhappily, the way in which he has left his office is likely to prevent a final and clear sifting of the evidence on that point. This is what deprives his retirement from being as welcome as it otherwise would have been. He goes under protest at the request of the President, at the time when hearsay, gossip, and slanderous, if untrue, statements have been written into the record before any opportunity has come for refutation or for adequate cross-examination of so-called witnesses. When President Coolidge decided to keep Mr. Daugherty in the Cabinet, he took upon himself a responsibility for the conduct of Mr. Daugherty's office. It must not be forgotten that the President was in a difficult position. Good taste, sound politics, and conscience concerning public responsibility alike made it necessary for Mr. Coolidge to continue with as little break as possible the Administration to the leadership of which he had succeeded. All the circumstances under which Mr. Coolidge labored are not publicly known, and without a knowledge of them a judgment upon his course must be to some degree tentative. Nevertheless it is hardly conceivable that President Coolidge might not have secured Mr. Daugherty's resignation several months ago. If he could have done so, we think he erred in retaining Mr. Daugherty in his Cabinet; but he did retain him. And then came the investigation. Now that Mr. Daugherty was under fire, the President's position was changed. It was evident that the Senate was undertaking to get rid of an executive officer without resorting to the means which the Constitution had provided for that purpose. As soon as charges were made against Mr. Daugherty he had a right to an orderly and legal trial. Instead of that, he was subjected to an attack in a form against which it was impossible for him to defend himself. This situation has greatly increased the President's embarrassment. As the President pointed out in his letter requesting Mr. Daugherty's resignation, Mr. Daugherty's personal interest as a subject of the investigation and his public duty in the Department of Justice were in conflict. As soon as the investigation began it was evident that the President should have some one at the head of the Department of Justice in whom he could have confidence and whose interests were not involved. It was solely on that ground that the President requested Mr. Daugherty to resign. The situation which the President describes was one which was inevitable as soon as the investigation began, and it could have been foreseen as soon as the investigation itself was foreseen. The President's action now has been interpreted as an effort on his part to save his party and incidentally himself from the political consequences of his own act in retaining Mr. Daugherty in his Cabinet. If the President has made a mistake in this matter, it has been, not in getting rid of Mr. Daugherty, but in choosing the time for doing so.

As both prosecutor and prosecuted, Mr. Daugherty had become involved in an impossible situation. Since the President had not acted before, it is difficult to see how he could have avoided acting now.

The country must have an Attorney-General in whom it can have confidence.

The Child and the Constitution

ANOTHER amendment to the Constitution has been formally recommended to Congress by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. It provides that Congress may regulate child labor.

At first thought many people will wonder why there should be any opposition to such a beneficent proposal. Of course certain States have good child labor laws; but many States have seemed indifferent to the physical and mental welfare of the children employed in factories. Children are children in whatever State they live, and it would seem that a Nation that wants its citizens to grow up educated and strong should see that they are protected by National legislation if they are not protected by the legislation of the several States.

Opposition, however, to such an amendment is not wholly unreasonable or inhuman. Some of it, of course, comes from those who wish to profit by the exploitation of the cheap labor that children afford; but it would be a mistake to consider the opposition as wholly selfish. In the first place, there is the wholesome objection to constant tampering with the Constitution. That document is rightly regarded as the framework of this Nation's structure, and constant change in the framework is likely to injure the stability and the sound proportions of the building.

More specifically, there is the feeling, well justified, that changes in the Constitution will turn that document from a body of principles into a code of laws and will destroy its value as a protection of the minority against the temporary moods of a changing majority.

There is, too, the well-established

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judgment that much of the strength of this country depends upon the continued independent legislative capacity of the States. One of the reasons for the long life of this Government—long in comparison with other governments in the world—is that our several States are free to make experiments which can be tried and cast aside if unsuccessful without detriment to the rest of the country, or adopted by other States if successful. To transfer such legislation from the Legislatures of the States to the Congress of the United States is to endanger one of the factors of safety in this country.

And yet a situation exists which requires a remedy. At present the State which protects its children by its laws is penalized. Neighboring States, less conscientious, less intelligent, and therefore more willing to use up their children for the sake of their goods, can undersell the State that has the better social conscience and understanding. The Constitution forbids the more intelligent State to levy a tariff on the goods which its less scrupulous neighbors offer for sale at lower prices because of lower labor cost. And the Supreme Court has decided that the power of Congress over inter-State Commerce does not extend to the protection of the more enlightened State against this unfair competition. It is useless to criticise the decisions of the Supreme Court in this respect, but the effect of those decisions has been, not to confirm and uphold the Constitution, but to stimulate a new attempt to change it. The philosophical may say that we must depend upon a gradual system of education to raise the standards of the more backward States. Meantime, however, children are subject to exploitation, and States that try to protect them remain handicapped.

If this Child Labor Amendment is adopted, there will probably be another amendment offered to protect wage-earning women, and after that other amendments providing for industrial relief for progressive States against the competition of the unprogressive.

If we are not to have a string of such amendments, Congress should provide a single amendment that would cover them all. We do not here suggest the form that that amendment should take. In general terms, however, it should provide that Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to set industrial standards to which every State in its social and industrial legislation must conform if the products of its industries are to be admitted into inter-State commerce.

Such a blanket amendment, granting to Congress explicit police power for the purpose of preventing backward States from profiting by their backwardness, should be carefully drafted; but, if its language is properly guarded, it would conform to the other provisions of the Constitution as statements of principle rather than as legislative acts, and would make unnecessary the constant tinkering of which the Constitution at present is in danger.

"Damn-Fool Honesty"

By LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT
Contributing Editor of The Outlook

ONE of the most picturesque and significant statements made before the Senatorial investigating committee, which is now conducting a gossip shop at the Capitol in Washington, has passed by comparatively unnoticed. "Al" Jennings, ex-train robber, ex-convict, ex-evangelist, and ex-candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Oklahoma, was on the witness-stand, if that term can be employed in proceedings during which the rules of evidence and the regulation of "he-sez-to-me" and "I-sez-to-him" testimony have been almost scandalously ignored. After Jennings had asserted that the notorious "Jake" Hamon, of Oklahoma, now dead, had claimed the doubtful honor of spending a million dollars to promote the nomination of President Harding, the following colloquy took place between Senator Spencer and the ex-bandit, as reported stenographically in the proceedings of the "investigation:"

Q. Well, Hamon started in for General Wood, didn't he, for President?
A. No, sir. No; he didn't like Wood. He said Wood was too much impregnated with the damn-fool honesty of Theodore Roosevelt.

In the mass of mud-slinging, innuendo, insinuation, and defamation that has blackened the records of this investigating committee, and has made the phrase "Senatorial dignity" a laughing-stock throughout the country, no truer words have been spoken than are found in this unconscious *obiter dictum* of the dime-novel hero who uttered them. The damn-fool honesty of Theodore Roosevelt! What a tribute! And it has been allowed to pass unnoticed because everybody has regarded it as a simple statement of an ordinary and accepted fact.

Roosevelt during his lifetime was accused, ignorantly or falsely, of displaying various defects of character—vanity, self-assertion, sensationalism, ambition, impetuosity, bloodthirsty militarism, disloyalty to party, and even untruthfulness and drunkenness. But his bitterest enemies never breathed a word against his honesty. Those who would have destroyed him if they could apparently never even so much as thought that he used his unprecedented power for financial profit. This is worth recalling at a time when the very warp and woof of American political life seems to be eaten into by pecuniary corruption. And it ought not to be forgotten that the executive officer who makes money out of Government contracts or by the perversion of justice is no more guilty of pecuniary corruption than the legislator who seeks election and emoluments of office by stooping to slander or baseless sensationalism. Unfortunately, the methods and atmosphere prevailing in the Senatorial committee room at Washington have produced the impression that some members of the Senate are more interested in gaining partisan advantage on the eve of a Presidential election than in a revival of common honesty in politics. Perhaps, however, the committee has done better than it realized. It has started the country thinking, and my guess is that the great mass of voters have about come to the conclusion that they want their Government administered by men who belong to the damn-fool honest class rather than to the class of damn-smart pettifoggers or crooks.

The honest man must, however, not merely profess honesty, but really love it and live it. The American people, I believe, despise hypocrisy more than they do thievery. A genuinely honest man, however, need never be afraid of being called a hypocrite. Roosevelt certainly had no such fear. He once said, "Aggressive fighting for the right is the noblest sport the world affords;" and on another occasion he told me at Sagamore Hill that his advice to a schoolboy, in whom he was interested and who had expressed the fear that he might be taken for a "goody-goody" if he followed a certain course, was this: "Be always

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ready to fight if necessary; if you are ready to fight, you can be as good as you please, and nobody is likely to complain." The trouble at Washington appears to be that some of our politicians feel that if they make a fighting bluff they can be as bad as they please and nobody will complain.

During his lifetime there were critics who sometimes tried to laugh a little at Roosevelt for being a moralist, but they never doubted his intense, active, and genuine interest in good morals. He gathered about him, in both important and subordinate offices of Government, men who shared his moral enthusiasms and followed his moral standards. The whole tone of political and social life in Washington during his Presidential Administration was high. This has been recently revealed in an interesting fashion by the intimate and informal letters of his aide, "Archie" Butt, which have been appearing serially in the newspapers.

Roosevelt once wrote from the White House—to be exact, December 15, 1904—to the French poet Mistral a letter which it is appropriate and stimulating to recall at this time, when the shady side of American political life is being so unpleasantly revealed at Washington. In that letter he said:

> All success to you and your associates! You are teaching the lesson that none need more to learn than we of the West, we of the eager, restless, wealth-seeking nation; the lesson that after a certain not very high level of material well-being has been reached, then the things that really count in life are the things of the spirit. Factories and railways are good up to a certain point; but courage and endurance, love of wife and child, love of home and country, love of lover for sweetheart, love of beauty in man's work and in nature, love and emulation of daring and of lofty endeavor, the homely workaday virtues and the heroic virtues—these are better still, and if they are lacking, no piled-up riches, no roaring, clanging industrialism, no feverish and many-sided activity shall avail either the individual or the nation. I do not undervalue these things of a nation's body; I only desire that they shall not make us forget that beside the nation's body there is also the nation's soul.

The underlying honesty of Roosevelt, which is damn-foolishness to men of the "Jake" Hamon type, will be found unconsciously interwoven through all his voluminous writings. What we need in the coming Presidential election is a leader who will call the country back to common honesty of thought and action. It is, however, not surprising to find decency and honor regarded as foolishness, nor is "Jake" Hamon's pronouncement the first revelation of a sentiment of contempt for the plain virtues and common decency. Nearly two thousand years ago one of the very great philosophers of history in writing on life and conduct said that the gospel of the Golden Rule, which is the gospel of reverence, honesty, and fair dealing, was to the Greeks foolishness. But, with a touch of irony, he added, "The foolishness of God is wiser than men."

Whitfield—Apostle of Racial Good Will

By Lester A. Walton

DEMAGOGISM is on the wane in Mississippi. Blatancy has given way to temperate expression. Intolerance is being supplanted by tolerance. Vardamanism, symbolical of racial unrest, is on its last legs and has lost potency.

When Henry L. Whitfield became Governor of Mississippi in January, the event marked the dawn of a new era in race relationships in a commonwealth where the blacks outnumber the whites. Whitfieldism is the antithesis of Vardamanism. Instead of fomenting racial friction by making rabid anti-Negro speeches, Governor Whitfield and his followers are bending their efforts toward unifying the two races for their common good.

Mississippi's new chief executive clearly defined his attitude on race relations in his inaugural address when he said:

> The Negroes still make up slightly more than one-half of Mississippi's population. Any plans for a new era, any change in our economic life, any reorganization of our agriculture or industry which leaves them out, is doomed to failure. There is a definite relation between their happiness and prosperity and that of the State as a whole.
>
> If we would hold these laborers in the South, we must compete with the Northern employer on his own terms. We must improve working and living conditions, look after the Negro's health, foster manual training and modern agricultural methods, and see to it that at all times the less-favored black man shall get a square deal in business relations and in the courts. Our own self-interest prompts it; humanitarian considerations demand it; our Christian duty as a more favored people enjoins this upon us.
>
> It is encouraging to learn of a fifty per cent decrease in the number of lynchings in the past twelve months. . . . I recognize only the supremacy of the law and the equality of every man before the bar of justice. I call upon all the law-enforcing officers in the commonwealth to use every means within their power to prevent lynching, and thus eliminate a potent cause of race friction and ill feeling.
>
> Wise leaders among Negroes must be encouraged in their splendid efforts to aid their own people. Points of agreement between the races must be emphasized and points of friction minimized. Every man and woman in the State must see to it that the laws protecting Negroes in their lives and property are religiously enforced; that the occasional white man who seeks to profit through the ignorance of his tenants or laborers be forced by the overwhelming weight of an aroused public opinion to give a square deal to all whom he employs regardless of race or color, and that there be the fullest co-operation between the white man and the black to the end that peace and prosperity come to white and black alike through cordial co-operation in the agricultural and industrial upbuilding of the State.

Governor Whitfield's unusual and thoroughgoing pronouncement on race relations has attracted much favorable and widespread attention. Northern and Southern, white and colored editors have unreservedly commended him on his outspoken utterances.

Under the caption "Wholesome Talk" the Jackson, Mississippi, "Daily News" says:

> Being a plain, matter-of-fact man who reasons from cause and effect, Governor Whitfield told the Legislature some wholesome truth on this subject. To some folks it is not pleasant reading, but it is the truth nevertheless, and should command our seri-

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ous consideration. We all know within our hearts that we have not given the Negro a square deal, and it is gratifying to know that we have a Governor endowed with the courage to speak right out and tell the truth about it.

A Northern paper, the Detroit "News," recognizes the idealism of the South in this Governor. It comments:

Henry L. Whitfield, Governor of Mississippi, a State whose Negro population exceeds in its relation to the whole that of any other State, has just taken a position regarded as extraordinary in the light of the South's traditional attitude toward the colored race. In his recent inaugural address, cited as a clear keynote of the South's new thought in the matter, Governor Whitfield admits flatly that if the South would hold the Negro it must prepare itself to compete fairly with Northern sections to which he is being attracted. Doubtless the South is moved now by practical considerations. Still there are thousands of thinking persons in the South who regard the ideal as not necessarily impracticable. The Governor rightly ignores artificial expedients already proposed to hold a race invaluable to the prosperity of his State. It is a most significant official expression.

The New Orleans "Item" expresses itself as follows:

Governor Whitfield's inaugural address touched the Negro in a sensible way. Since Negroes are half the population of Mississippi, he says, "there is a definite relation between their happiness and prosperity and that of the State as a whole." The Negro has been the subject of so little consideration of late years by high-placed demagogues in Mississippi, except as the foundation for appeals to low-browed and unworthy prejudice on the part of the more ignorant voting elements, that it is a relief to find such sensible and liberal sentiments gaining a prominent place in the new Governor's message.

The Asheville (North Carolina) "Times:"

Nowhere is there to be found more striking proof of the long distance which Mississippi has traveled away from Vardamanism than in the inaugural message of Governor Henry L. Whitfield. It is a dignified, constructive state paper, notably free of the claptrap and demagoguery which we ordinarily associate with Vardamanism in its rankest form. . . . Mississippi has the race question in the acutest form. One-half of her population is Negro. The problem thrusts itself unceasingly upon the public attention. It throws its dark shadows across politics. It determines the industrial life of the people. But Mississippi has learned that bitterness and injustice cannot be trusted to solve the problem. If there is to be any amelioration of conditions, it must come through the free play of common sense and through the subjection of bitter race feelings to the loftier instincts of justice.

The New York "Age," a National Negro weekly, thinks that—

If his inaugural address means anything, Mississippi's new Governor is a distinct variation from the Vardaman and Bilbo types who have plunged Mississippi deep in the mire of race hatred and tolerance. As Governor Whitfield was frank enough and honest enough to include self-interest as a motive for giving the Negro a square deal, it is easier to credit him with meaning what he said. If the other State and county officials and white people of Mississippi would heed his utterances and co-operate along the lines laid out by him, improvement will result in both economic and rational lines.

A Southern Negro weekly, the Norfolk "Journal and Guide," thus records its appreciation of the Governor's position:

Governor Whitfield has gone further in denouncing mob violence, in proclaiming his belief in law and legal process, in calling upon "all the law-enforcing officials in the commonwealth to use every means in their power to prevent lynching and thus eliminate a potent cause of race friction and ill feeling" than any other Southern Governor. We of the South love the South. We want just laws and fair administration of just laws for all the people to prevail everywhere. This will be done in a large measure if the people of Mississippi follow the advice of Governor Whitfield, and if the Governors of other Southern States advise their people as Governor Whitfield has advised his.

Further proof that this is a new day in Mississippi was the appearance before the Legislature in February of S. D. Redmond, a prominent Negro lawyer, who was accompanied by a dozen representative members of his race. He spoke on the causes of migration and the resultant harm to both races. With the population of the State practically fifty per cent black, the speaker pointed out that there were one thousand high schools for whites and none for blacks; that similar conditions obtained regarding agricultural schools, seminaries, and colleges. The Negro was taxed to build schools for white children, members of both branches were told. Failure to establish reformatories for Negro youths, sanitariums for the tubercular, and asylums for the insane was also cited.

Sports Change But Sportsmen Remain

THE discussion of sport is nothing new to The Outlook. Back in the early '90's, for instance, The Outlook ran an article on proper bicycle customs and costumes for women. It was illustrated with cuts of bebloomered ladies whose grandchildren may be now just the proper age to begin to form The Outlook habit.

The Outlook has always been interested in sports. That is why we are particularly glad to announce that a

Sports Number

will be issued on

April 23

Its leading article will be the first of a series of reminiscences of a veteran Hudson River boatman, James A. Ten Eyck, who has for years coached many famous crews of the University of Syracuse.

Articles on horseback riding, canoeing, and hunting will be among the other features of this out-of-doors issue. There will be other timely illustrated articles in this number which we cannot now announce.

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The daily press of the State frankly admits that a few years ago the spectacle of a Negro appealing to the members of the Mississippi Legislature for fair play would not have been possible.

Who can deny that the overhanging clouds of race prejudice are slowly but surely becoming less ominous and menacing in Mississippi?

The Revolt Against Politics

Special Correspondence from Washington

By STANLEY FROST

WASHINGTON is at last getting back to normal, after its long spree on scandal. The slithy toves of gossip still gyre and gimble on the muck-heaps, to be sure, but their audience is walking out. Partly it is feeling its appetite gone from too steady a diet of high meat; partly it is waking up to the fact that almost nothing that was both believable and important has been uncovered for weeks; partly it is finding the show far below the advance notices. But mostly the change of interest is due to the fact that the pre-convention campaigns are finally under way and the time has come to take stock of the political results of the racket.

What's in Sight? Politics!

THE interest is all the more intense because political results are about the only ones in sight. Suits have been started over the oil leases, Denby and Daugherty have gone, but the constructive things that might have held interest have not appeared. There is no sign that any of the larger benefits which at first seemed possible will come to pass. The politicians of both parties are still fighting along the old lines and by the old methods; neither organization has confessed sin or brought forth fruits meet for repentance. No leadership toward higher political standards has been manifested. There has been no Governmental house-cleaning. No public pressure upon Congress has been enough to make it do its work or watch the public interest. The net result seems to be chiefly that politics this year is going to be a good bit dirtier than common.

Yet the politicians are far from happy—even the Democrats, who quite naturally had expected to benefit from the unhappiness of the Republicans. Reports which are reaching men of both parties here, and they are confirmed from other sources, are that the exposures have added nothing to the Democratic assets; even that, because of the way some of the scandals have been handled, the Democrats have actually hurt themselves. The people who quit the Republican party seem to be going nowhere. None but the paid cheer leaders are shouting around the standard of Democracy.

So both parties find that through much of the country their machines are rattling skeletons, without flesh or power. The professionals, the politicians for revenue only, the paid captains, all these are waiting for recruits—waiting. Only the Progressives and third party men are happy, for they can see profit in the wreckage.

The death of the old parties and birth of new ones has been so steadily prophesied during the last few campaigns that one hesitates to cry "wolf" again. And, in fact, though the time of reckoning has drawn much nearer, and the symptoms of decay are working toward a crisis, the time is not yet. There is almost no chance that any third party movement this year could win more than a very few States and a handful of electoral votes. No matter how broken the old parties may be, a new movement needs a vital purpose, a great rallying cry and inspiring leaders, and the third party folks are as poor in real issues or real leadership as either of the old machines. They have plenty of discontent to work on, and nothing else. That is enough to make much trouble, but far from enough to create an army and inspire a cause.

Even if they had light and leading, however, the mechanics of politics would make a third party movement almost hopeless just now. A vast organization is required, backed by large funds. The mutineers have no time to build the one nor power to raise the other. Also, in spite of grumbling and discontent, the habit of voting the straight and regular ticket is hard to break, and there will be far less rebellion at the polls than the noise it makes might indicate. Finally, the Progressives themselves are none too confident in their own cause, and hesitate to leave the security of the party lines and the power the present session of Congress has proved they have there for a place in a new and untried army. So the chance that a third party can show any large strength or come anywhere near success can be dismissed.

In spite of this, however, a third party or an independent candidate can still play hob with the campaign. The scandals have brought us a long step nearer the long-foretold new alignment. They have greatly increased the popular revolt against present political methods and the present political leadership, and enlarged the number who will try almost anything in the hope that it may help. And, because of certain peculiarities in the political balance of power this year, even a small revolt at the polls which won nothing for itself might produce a situation without precedent in our politics, and one in which almost anything might happen. There may be no issue but oil, and yet the campaign will for these other reasons be the most pregnant in half a century.

The Voters are Uneasy

THE revolt against politics has been clear for some years to those who could see, though this does not include most politicians. There has been going on an unintended education of voters with which the average party worker has not kept up. For a long time people in revolt against one party would merely turn to the other. It took generations for them to make certain that this left them no better off. Then for a while they tried various political patent medicines, and it took other generations to learn that these were usually worthless. The two lessons have been crystallizing for the last fifteen years into a vague but deep desire for a new deal all around. The number who share this desire, and still more the number who are willing to do something about it, has been increasing steadily. This year it has taken a big jump, but it is still uncertain—and that is the biggest uncertainty in politics to-day—because the revolt has so often shown itself in strange and warped forms that its actual size is hard to estimate. But it is big, and growing.

It has been this, far more than any particular trouble or belief in any particular plan, that has caused the unrest in the Middle West, where the revolt is strongest. It has sent Brookhart and

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Magnus Johnson to the Senate merely because they were new timber. It is a chief reason for the Ku Klux Klan. It was the strength of the Ford boom, and herein is the best proof that it is revolt and not a reasoned demand, for Ford had no platform. He was not a politician; therefore they wanted him!

Wanted, Some One to Holler

I FOUND an illustration of this attitude a while back in a little farming town in Iowa. The local debaters were gathered in the back room of the bank, and I asked why they had elected such a man as Brookhart.

"To make a noise," a bearded farmer declared, and the rest nodded. "Those folks in Washington don't pay any attention to what we need, and we want to remind 'em that we're alive. We tried smooth fellers first—regular politicians, you know—and they just played politics and didn't get us anything. Brookhart, he'll make a noise."

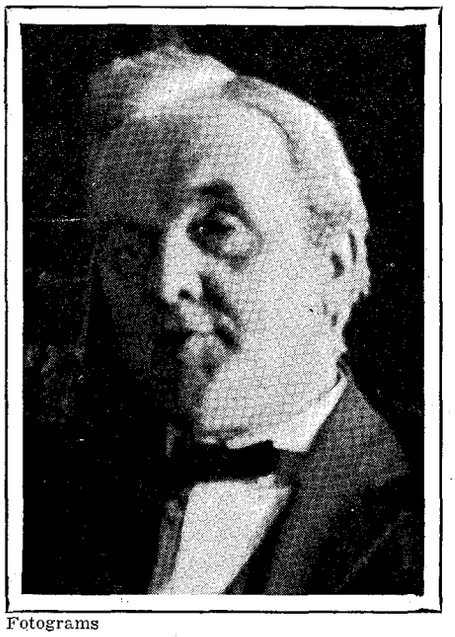
"How about his policies?" I asked. "Do you want the things he's shouting for?"

"Hell, no!" was the answer. "We didn't pay any notice to his schemes. He can't get 'em, anyway. We just wanted somebody to holler for us."

To this state of mind the scandals have now added deep disgust. The country had begun to hope we were through with actual corruption, at least, and its awakening is bitter. It would, a few years ago, have turned with one mind to the Democratic party. But the country's ability to diagnose politics has improved, and it is almost as disgusted with the Democratic scalp-dancers as with the men they are attacking. This disgust is so bitter that many men, not ordinarily given to seeing ghosts, are beginning to discuss seriously whether representative government is breaking down. If they do vote Democratic, it will be with deep misgivings.

Probably the best representative in Washington of this Mid-Western revolt is Senator Norris, of Nebraska. He is a Progressive, yet not part of La Follette's kite-tail. He often goes with La Follette, but does not live on his favor and is not bound to follow him. His thinking is not complicated by Presidential hopes, and he runs no political machine such as La Follette does. When I asked him about the present state of mind in the Middle West, he explained that he had not made any detailed study recently, but, with this reservation, gave his diagnosis.

"They are tired of the political machines out there," he declared. "They are just as tired of one machine as of the other. Both are alike, and the people have found it out. They are full of disgust, dissatisfaction, and rebellion against political conditions. They want decent government, for the benefit of all the people, and they know they're not getting it. The scandals have simply made this feeling stronger than before."



Fotograms

Senator Norris, of Nebraska

First Find How to Do It

"WHAT is their programme, their practical demands?" I asked.

"Really, they haven't any. They have some ideas for reforms, but they are not very enthusiastic about any of them. They do want to get rid of the machines. They have come to believe that so long as there is a machine there will be corruption in one form or another. A machine costs money—a lot of money. Somebody has to pay for it, and people don't spend money unless they expect to get it back. The only way a machine or the backers of a machine can get it back is at the expense of the rest of the people. The whole trouble is that there is no way for the voters to elect independent men, who won't be under obligations to any machine. When they find out how to do that, they'll go after it. Now they are simply disgusted.

"No, they don't particularly want a new party. They know that it will have to have a machine, too, and that it would soon be as bad as the old ones."

This, the politicians are learning with grief, is the state of mind they must deal with in the campaign. In spite of the clamor for this or that scheme, in spite of the twelve progressive planks in La Follette's platform, in spite of the issues the old parties have so carefully framed up, they find that the country is interested in only one issue—clean and decent politics—and that it has about decided it can't get it from either old party. This is an issue which the political professionals will find it hard to meet with the kind of flapdoodle they know how to handle. Almost all of them admit that if there were a vigorous third party in the field it would win easily.

A New Style Revolt

BUT this is not all their grief. There has broken out this spring a new revolt against the politicians, in a place where it was least expected. This is among the business men who usually pay the bills. This year they are refusing to open their check-books or wallets. They, too, are disgusted. They, too, want a new political deal. They, even more than the ordinary voters, feel that they have been cheated, have not got at all what they paid for. So the political committees and campaign managers are already in trouble, and very despondent. They feel themselves alone on burning decks.

The blight of this fire has struck both parties, and is like nothing that has ever happened before. It apparently is not a concerted movement—merely a wide personal disgust with present-day politics and distrust of present political leaders. It is another proof of the great opportunity for a real party or real leadership if either should appear.

Progressive Possibilities

THE Progressives, of course, will do what they can with this opportunity, in spite of the almost killing difficulties in the way of a third party this year. Besides ambition they have a compelling reason for vigorous action in the increasing age and physical weakness of Senator La Follette. The movement has had little cohesion except around his own personality—he almost literally owns it—and his retirement, which must come soon, would leave it in dire straits. So there is a great anxiety, while he can still lead, to bring out of the Progressive nebula a platform which could be pointed to as his gospel, and an organization which could inherit his mantle, and so could be kept in motion. The need of this is so great that even if he should be compelled to retire this year the plans would still be carried out in an effort to gather his prestige while it was still fresh.

There are serious difficulties in the way of third party action, however. The Progressive-Republicans have found it paid them well at the polls to hang on to the Republican label, however little they belonged inside the party. Even in Congress they have been somewhat more effective as borers from within, though they might still do well if they became a third party; there would always be the chance to hold a balance of power as at

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present. But at the polls they could not do nearly so well if they lost the party label. Few of them can command an actual majority in their own States or districts. Most have succeeded by having enough support to win in the Republican primaries, and have later depended on the "regulars" to make up a majority and carry the election. They would have much less chance of success in three-cornered races, and they do not wish to be martyrs.

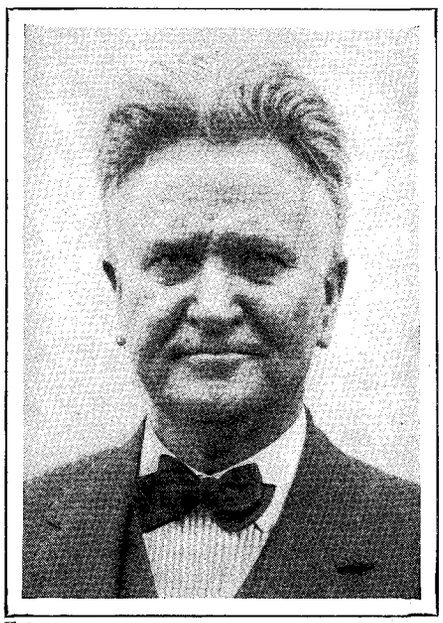
The plan that has finally been hit on, however, seems to them to meet this objection. They intend to keep the party label, and still make a separate National race. Each in his own bailiwick will follow the old plan and hold tight to all the advantages of regularity; they will leave the party only on the Presidential race. To make this possible their candidate for President—La Follette for choice—will run, not as a third party man, but merely as an independent.

Regular in Name, But—

To give this plan an appearance of justification, it is necessary to make some gesture of regularity at the National Convention; a gesture that will still leave them free—in fact, that will make it seem that they are forced—to take independent action later. The publication of the La Follette platform was the beginning of this gesture. It is announced that if the Republican party becomes liberal and adopts that platform the Progressives will support it and its candidate; if it remains conservative, they will have to fight for their principles. But that platform, calling for Government ownership of railways, a Nationally owned water-power and electric system, abolition of injunction in labor disputes, and all the rest, is clearly one the Republicans cannot adopt. So the Progressives' gesture of loyalty takes no risks, but will be a proof of good intentions to those who will accept it as such.

The nameless "independent" campaign that will follow is already assured of considerable support. The Farmer-Labor party is expected to swing in behind. The Conference for Progressive Political Action, which is under control of the railway unions, has given up hope for McAdoo, and will add its support. The Committee of Forty-eight will probably do likewise, though its reputation for lunacy is such that the Progressives would be as happy without it. Finally, each of the Progressives—still remaining inside the Republican party—would give what aid he could.

Practically all political observers concede that such a campaign would win for the independent candidate at least six States: Wisconsin, Minnesota, the two Dakotas, Nebraska, and Wyoming. Some add Washington, Montana, Colorado, and Kansas, but few even of the most hopeful Progressives claim more than this. It would give somewhere be-



Fotograms

Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin

tween fifty and ninety electoral votes out of the total of 541. On its face, this small success would be useless to the Progressives.

Yet, because of the probability that the remaining electoral votes would be nearly evenly divided, it might become a great triumph for them and precipitate a truly unique situation. If that happened, there would be no election by the Electoral College, and under an almost forgotten provision of the Constitution the House of Representatives would be called on to elect. The last time this was done was just a hundred years ago, when the House elected John Quincy Adams over Jackson, Calhoun, and others.

In an election by the House each State has a single vote, like a State delegation to a convention under the "unit rule," and the choice of the House is limited to the three leading candidates. It would be the House with its present membership that would act, but guesses vary as to how it would act. The Progressives have demonstrated that they control the present House through holding the balance of power, but they might not do so on a count by States. Five States have evenly divided delegations; three would probably be Progressive, but the Constitution requires a majority of all the States for an election. There is of course no telling just how various members might react to such a situation, or whether the party lines could be held solid, but the estimates indicate that, on the present basis, the Republicans could not possibly win, the Democrats might have a bare chance of winning, but that probably there would be a deadlock.

In that case the responsibility would go to the Senate, which would have the power to choose between the two leading candidates for Vice-President one who should hold office as President till a special election could be held, and would then drop back to Vice-President. The Senators would vote as individuals—and the Progressives hold the balance of power. But there is hardly a chance that the independent candidate for Vice-President would be eligible.

Possible but Not Likely

There is a third possibility, that the Electoral College would come to life, exercise the discretion which still legally belongs to it, and elect a President. It could choose any man it wished; even, possibly, the man best fitted for the job! There is small chance of this. The College has long been a form; the votes are cast in the various State Capitols under the law, the Electors are supposed to have no discretion. But this is custom, not law. As recently as the Hayes-Tilden fight, the election was actually decided by one Elector changing from his instructions, and the precedent was established that the House, in canvassing the vote, could not go behind the returns.

It could be done again. The College might meet, thrash out a decision, and then return to the State Capitols and vote. Or, without meeting, some Electors could decide for themselves to forget their instructions. If it should appear that both the College and the House were unable to elect, there is no doubt that a great effort would be made on both sides to get enough of them to do this to elect a President.

From all this welter almost anything might happen: the election of any imaginable dark horse, the birth of new parties, of new political standards, the return of the old power of the Electoral College—anything. It is a situation such as the country has never faced; it holds possibilities that cannot be even guessed.

It is far from certain that it will come to pass, for the election is still far off, but it is well within the range of probability, and is being seriously considered by the most hard-headed politicians. I tried the other day, for instance, to get one National leader to talk about the coming conventions.

"Not interested," he snapped, for his troubles are heavy. "Don't make a damn bit of difference who's nominated—either party. Neither of 'em will be elected."

He is not a seventh son, of course, and he is sorely tried, but his guessing power is fairly good, and he does know politics.

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Platforms of the People

THE OUTLOOK'S inquiry as to what the people desire in the form of party platforms has been most gratifying in point of the generous number of answers received and the very apparent care with which the ballots have been prepared. As this is written three days after the date of publication of the plan in the issue of March 26, it has been possible only to analyze and tabulate the hundreds of ballots received in that relatively brief period. And in studying this report the reader must constantly bear in mind that it is based, without exception, upon the preferences expressed by men and women living along the Atlantic seaboard between Boston and Philadelphia. Even now as we go to press later returns indicate that all other reports as they are published week by week will include the entire country.

Not only are ballots coming in from all sections, but for the most part all the subjects have been considered. But, as we have said, this report deals only with the early replies from that particular section mentioned above. Those who hastened to fill out and mail in the ballots were business and professional men and women, clergymen, students, lawyers, engineers, and housewives. And by the number of remarks inclosed one must conclude that they are giving considerable thought to all the important National questions. Party lines do not seem to be so closely drawn as one might imagine in a Presidential year. It will be noted that only seven per cent favor nationalization of the railways. The majority would have voluntary consolidation. Both Republicans and Democrats who approve of voluntary consolidation are against nationalization and compulsory consolidation. The question of continuing the Esch-Cummins Act was ignored in more than half the ballots. Nearly half of them reject the idea of compulsory reduction of freight rates.

While the extension of farm credits is generally approved, many hold that questions of agricultural relief should not be made an issue in the campaign. It is to be borne in mind, of course, that the ballots have come in from non-agricultural communities.

Nearly everybody favors the Mellon plan for tax reduction, and a large third favor a Federal tax on land held out of use. Party principles have developed far more strongly in regard to tariff questions than in any other question. Only ten per cent of the replies favor a bonus for ex-service men, two-thirds of the Republicans, all the Democrats, and a majority of the Independents voting against the proposal.

Few persons object to rigid enforcement of the prohibition laws, and the majority appear to object to increasing the alcoholic content. Yet few ignored the questions entirely—fewer than with most of the other issues. It tends to show that prohibition is still an issue, one, however, so involved that many have difficulty in forming a definite opinion. As a doctor remarks: "To approve a rigid enforcement plank would not be honest, because prohibition regulation cannot be *rigidly* enforced."

There appears to be little argument over the issues included under the heading "General Welfare." The majority of the few persons opposed to Congress legislating against exploitation of children in industry are frankly connected directly or potentially in one way or another with their employment. Many ignore the idea of a Federal employment agency, evidently believing it is not a National issue.

Federal aid for education is indorsed, though a fourth of the returns are against it. The thought on immigration is irrespective of party affiliations. The majority voting on the subject favor further restrictive measures, examination of prospective immigrants at ports of departure, and registration of aliens.

There is little or no opposition toward the idea of this country developing the National defense, bringing the Navy up to the standards set by the Naval Limitation Treaty, expanding the Air Service and, too, developing further the air mail service, which will be not only a medium of transport in peace but also an aeronautical reserve in case of emergency.

Only a fourth of the returns favor nationalization of the coal mines. The desire to retain the Railroad Labor Board is generally expressed regardless of party; likewise a majority favor injunctions in labor disputes.

The programme of the Ku Klux Klan as outlined in recent articles in The Outlook is for the most part ignored. A third of the ballots condemn that programme, many persons at the same time remarking that other organizations should likewise cease their activities.

Advocates and opponents of the Federal control of high-power transmission are almost equally divided in their opinions. A third of the replies ignore the money question; the vast majority giving it consideration condemn the idea of abandoning the gold standard. A vigorous conservation policy with extended Federal control over public properties is generally recommended. The sale of Government ships to private owners is generally recommended, with a majority opposing Government operation. A Federal ship subsidy is indorsed.

There is practically no opposition to plans for reorganizing the Government, though a fifth of the returns have ignored the subject utterly.

It will be seen from the table that very few persons condemn the Administration's policy of non-recognition of Russia, and they, too, are among those condemning the idea of least possible participation in foreign affairs. It is interesting to note that relatively few are willing to condemn the World Court plan, while nearly a fourth of the Republicans approve the League of Nations. Half the voters, irrespective of party affiliations, seem to want either one or the other. The cancellation of foreign debts is generally disapproved, either by condemnation or ignoring the idea.

There are many added platforms with numerous planks. There is considerable feeling over the recent disclosures in Washington. Such suggestions as "Vote for a new candidate who is not a Congressional investigator" are numerous. One reads in the margins of the ballots many expressions concerning a "do-nothing Congress." There is also a growing sentiment against the so-called secret police, whether employed by the Government or private individuals.

A Democrat who was once a Progressive says, "Clean house at Washington." Another would have reorganization of the Army. Many indorse a plank to protect coastal waters and marine life against pollution. Several mention such planks as uniform divorce laws. A doctor suggests a National licensing law for physicians. A college man suggests dominion status for the Philippines. A Republican accepts the principle of high-power transmission, but is dubious of Government control.

Meanwhile the ballots are coming in daily, in quantities sufficient to indicate that there are thousands of persons throughout the country who are willing to take the time necessary in a thorough consideration of the subjects listed. Many go further and write letters. The requests for numbers of extra blanks are numerous. As the poll progresses from week to week, and the results, considered as cumulative, are published, it is obvious that a record will be established which will show clearly and conclusively at least what the thinking people of the country want.

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Weekly Recapitulation of Ballots for

The Platforms of the People

Figures show percentage based on number of ballots received

I—TRANSPORTATION	Approved	Ignored	Condemned
1. Voluntary consolidation of the railroads	77	15	8
2. Compulsory consolidation of the railroads	11	27	62
3. Compulsory freight rate reduction	14	38	48
4. Continuance of Esch-Cummins Act	39	50	11
5. Nationalization of the railroads with co-operative administration by workers, shippers, and public	7	26	67
II—AGRICULTURAL RELIEF			
1. Formation of a Federal Grain Export Corporation	36	35	29
2. Federal aid for Farmers' Co-operatives	36	31	33
3. Federal purchase of wheat	6	34	60
4. Price fixing of staple farm products	10	31	59
5. Further extension of farm credits	45	33	22
6. Development of St. Lawrence waterways	48	33	19
III—TAXATION			
1. Reduction of taxes by Mellon plan	83	13	4
2. Reduction of taxes by Garner plan	5	34	61
3. A Federal tax on land held out of use	35	39	26
IV—TARIFF			
1. Continuance of Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law	41	35	24
2. Continuance of flexible provision for revenue only with lowering of tariffs	53	33	14
3. Tariff for revenue only without flexible provision	13	42	45
V—BONUS			
1. Adjusted compensation for all war veterans	10	18	72
VI—PROHIBITION			
1. Rigid enforcement under Civil Service	68	18	14
2. Change in the alcoholic content as now limited by the Volstead Act	32	23	45
VII—GENERAL WELFARE			
1. Equal social, legal, and industrial rights for women	62	24	14
2. An amendment enabling Congress to prevent exploitation of children in industry	80	15	5
3. Federal Anti-Lynching Law	63	27	10
4. Establishment of a Federal Employment Bureau	39	34	27
VIII—EDUCATION			
1. Extension of principle of Federal aid for education	55	19	26
IX—IMMIGRATION			
1. Registration of aliens	76	20	4
2. Continuance of quota method of restriction	49	29	22
3. Further restriction	61	27	12
4. Less restriction	9	37	54
5. Examination of prospective immigrants at ports of departure	47	52	1

X—PREPAREDNESS	Approved	Ignored	Condemned
1. Expansion of Navy to standards set by Conference on Limitation of Armament	75	18	7
2. Extension of Air Service	75	18	7
XI—AIR MAIL			
1. The further development of air mail service	66	25	9
XII—LABOR			
1. Continuance of Railroad Labor Board	54	33	13
2. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes	8	34	58
3. Nationalization, and democratic administration by technicians, workers, and consumers, of coal mines	26	27	47
4. Federal licensing of private detective agencies	49	39	12
XIII—KU KLUX KLAN			
1. Programme of Klan	12	55	33
XIV—SUPER-POWER			
1. Government control and distribution of high-power transmission	39	29	32
XV—MONEY			
1. Issuing of Federal currency based on commodities and labor	10	36	54
XVI—CONSERVATION			
1. A vigorous conservation policy with extended Federal control over public properties	81	16	3
XVII—MERCHANT MARINE			
1. Sale of Government ships to private owners	70	22	8
2. Operation by Government of Government-owned ships	18	25	57
3. Federal ship subsidy	54	23	23
XVIII—GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION			
1. Reorganization of the Executive Departments on the lines proposed in President's Annual Message	78	21	1
2. Effort to arrest the development of bureaucratic power	72	27	1
XIX—FOREIGN RELATIONS			
1. League of Nations	28	36	36
2. World Court	49	47	4
3. Hague Tribunal	35	62	3
4. Development of Four-Power Treaty principle	37	59	4
5. Secretary Hughes's present policy:	35	62	3
(*a*) Non-recognition of Russia	45	49	6
(*b*) Strengthening Monroe Doctrine	16	79	5
(*c*) Sale of arms to foreign governments	34	52	14
(*d*) Unofficial co-operation with foreign commissions	38	53	9
(*e*) Least possible participation	26	47	27
6. Cancellation of foreign debts	14	26	60

This ballot went to the readers of The Outlook in the issue for March 26. The votes recorded above include only those of Outlook readers who could get their ballots to us within a few days of publication. Though the ballots have just begun to come in, they are coming in quantities that surprise even the most sanguine about the result of the poll. Readers who have not filled out their ballots can still do so and mail them in time. On request to The Outlook any individual can obtain a ballot, and organizations (such as clubs, classes, etc.) can obtain ballots in reasonable numbers if they will undertake to see that their members fill them out and mail them to The Outlook. It is not desired that any club should vote a ballot as a whole, but that the members should vote individually, though the ballots when filled out can be mailed together under one cover.

Address: Editors of The Outlook, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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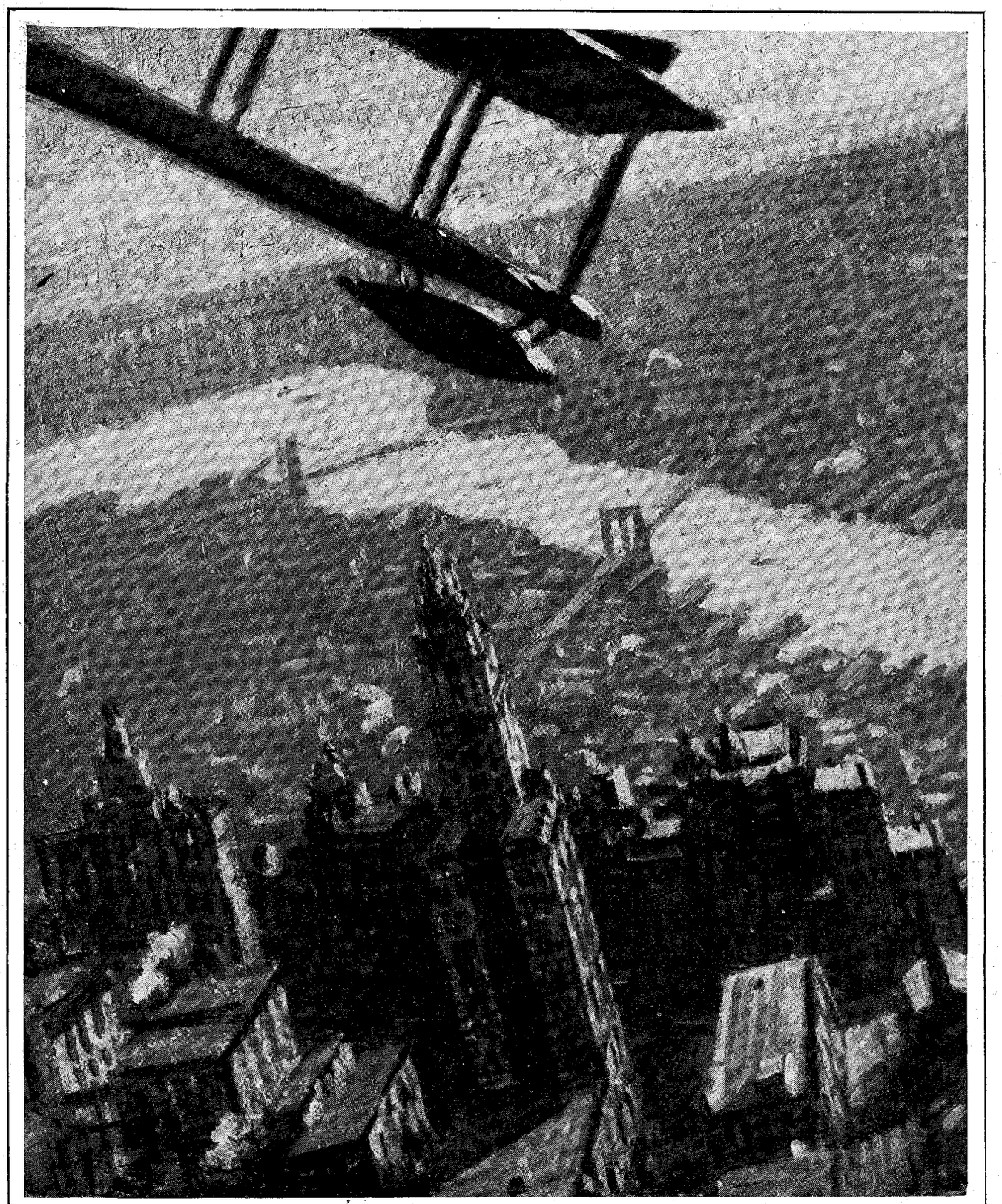
Crags and Crannies

Paintings by



From a recent exhibition at the Arlington Galleries, New York. Photographs from Paul Thompson

New York From a Seaplane

Mr. Warner was engaged in ship camouflage work for the United States Government during the war, and flew over New York City in a seaplane from the Naval Air Station at Rockaway in the course of his work, making, it is said, the first oil sketches that were ever completed aloft. From these studies this painting was made

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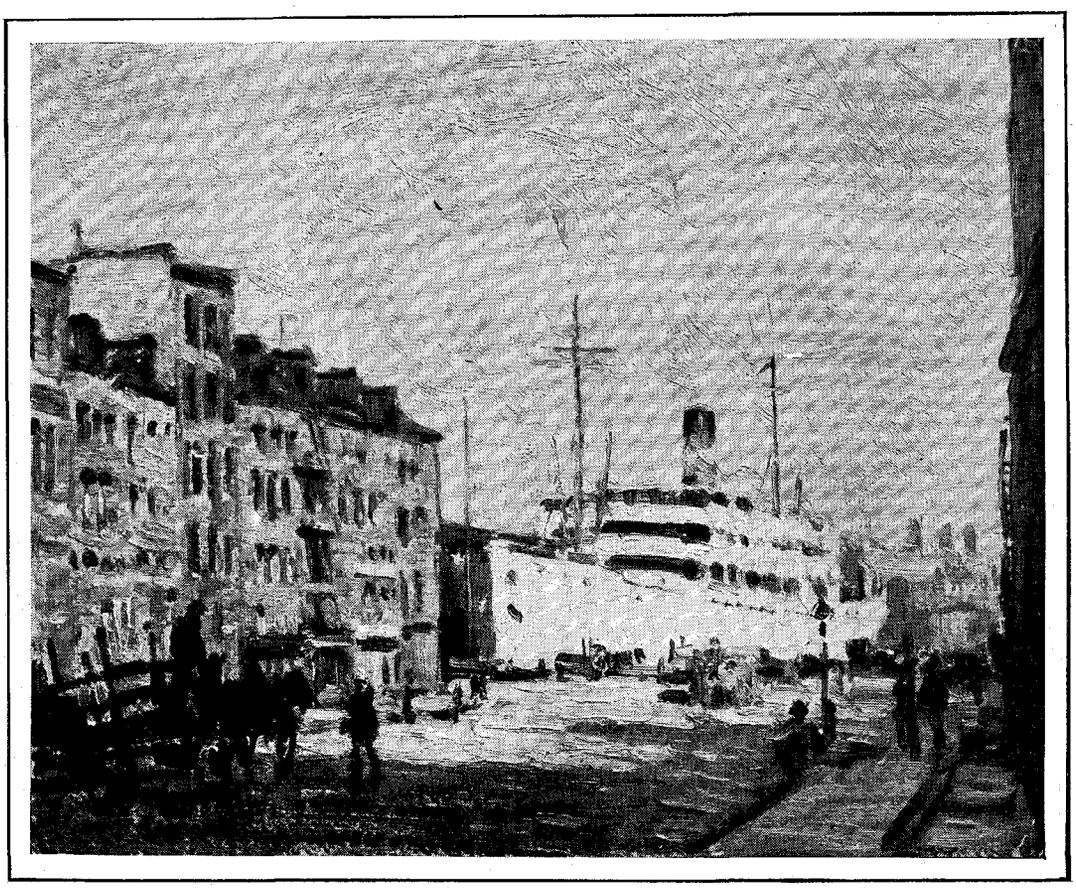
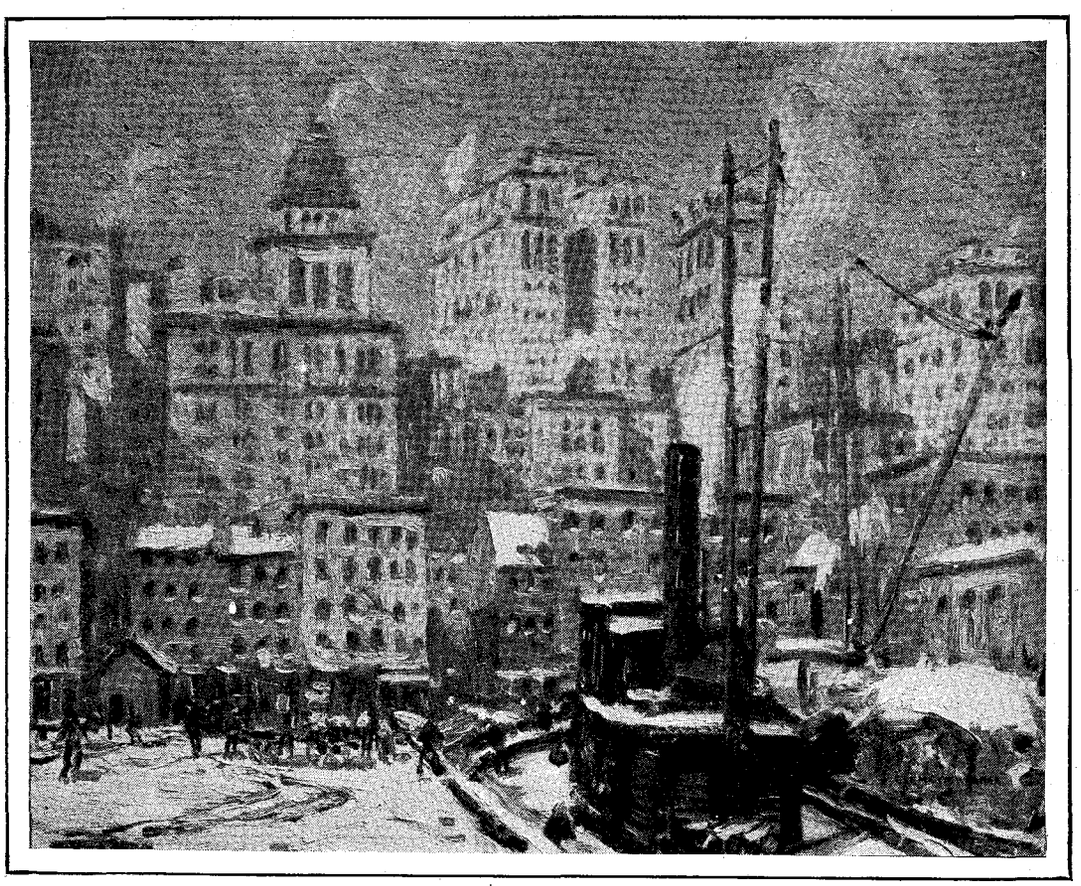
# of New York

Everett Warner



East River at Maiden Lane

Maiden Lane is usually associated with jewelers' shops or other mercantile establishments. But down near the East River it takes on another character and century-old dormer-roofed houses appear with big sea-going vessels parked at the Lane's junction with South Street



Water Front in Winter

New York's sky-line is ever changing, and this picture, painted in winter from Pier 11, East River, was made before the Munson Building came to mask a clear view of the Equitable Building and the pyramidal tower of the Bankers Trust Co.

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What His Home Town Thinks of Coolidge

By William Leavitt Stoddard

The judgment of neighbors is not always the judgment of history, but it is almost certain to be stimulating

THE Chamber of Commerce of Northampton, Massachusetts, set up a signboard a few years ago right opposite the railway station, announcing the identity of Northampton as "The Paradise of America." Several people had fun with that sign, most of them being ignorant of the fact that Jenny Lind, the famous singer, christened the town with this name after a honeymoon visit there. Northampton is also known as the seat of Smith College, of the Clarke School for the Deaf, of half a dozen Nationally known manufactured products, as the home town of a fair number of distinguished New Englanders, and, since one day last summer, as the home town of the President of the United States.

Northampton is just a trifle jealous of Plymouth, Vermont, Calvin Coolidge's native place, because Plymouth has had its full share of advertising. After all, he was only born and raised in Plymouth, while he made Northampton his home, his voting place, his training ground in politics from alderman to the highest office in the land.

The attitude of home towns toward men whose homes they are and of men toward their home towns is highly important. Not that you are done for if your home town damns you, or that you are made if your home town considers you beyond compare. Home towns are composed of two kinds of people—those who live there always, and those who go away. Some of the latter return; some don't; some merely adopt another home town and settle back; some find other places that are more fertile soil for their talents and grow to a stature impossible back home. Meanwhile the home town keeps on being a home town, more or less fixed in its character and prejudices, and eyes its sons with a peculiar, steady, penetrating gaze, a gaze that seems hostile at times in spite of the paternal heart back of it.

The outer, patent facts about Calvin Coolidge and Northampton are few. He came there to live after graduating from Amherst College, seven miles east across the meadows and river, encircled by the same ring of miniature mountains. In the office of Hammond and Field—later Judge Hammond and Mayor "Harry" Field—he read law, and in a little less than two years was admitted to the bar. He set out to do a general legal business—and got it. In the course of time the Nonotuck Savings Bank became a client, and later elected him a director. He examined titles at the Court House, Northampton being the county seat. He was placed on the Republican City Committee; later he was chairman of it. A vacancy in the office of the clerk of court occurring, a friend saw that he was named to fill it. He ran for alderman—at whose behest I shall tell you later—successfully. He was elected city solicitor. Thence to the lower house of the Legislature. Thence he was elected Mayor, achieving a notable reduction in the city's debt while increasing the pay of the always underpaid school-teachers. The State Senate saw him next, serving as President in his last year, when he delivered the famous "Coolidge Creed." The Lieutenant-Governorship and the Governorship followed—and the rest of the story is familiar.

"I told you so," or "Who'd have believed it?"

ALL this the world knows. What the world does not know, what it is justly curious about, is, what does Northampton think about this man? Did Northampton recognize him, or, like any home town, did it wait for the State and, lastly, the Nation to do so? All legitimate questions.

Northampton opinion about Coolidge divides itself into several categories. You would expect to find at least one category saying, "I predicted that he would be President." But you find no such rash prophets in that conservative, commonsense New England city. There are plenty who told me that they knew all along that Coolidge was a remarkable man—and prove it. Harry Field, under whom he read law, is not ashamed to have referred to him as "an inscrutable little devil." An attorney who has known him equally long told me frankly that "he didn't see how Calvin did it," and made reference to fate, luck, and pull. But this category is as small in its numbers as it is in its thinking.

Then there are those whom you find in every home town who sniff at the Coolidges, Mr. and Mrs. alike. Inconsequential gossip—Northampton is not perfect—emanates from these folks.

A large category is composed of people—like the writer of this article—who knew Coolidge casually to nod to; who never had any particular reason for knowing him better; who voted for him if they were of his party and against him if they were Democrats; who just accepted him as an entity as they accepted other sights about the town—the elms, the church steeples, the familiar women and men who moved hither and thither without advertising themselves at all.

Out of my boyhood days I retain a picture of him which I give because I believe that it, or a picture like it, is carried in many other minds.

Calvin Coolidge lived on Massasoit Street (the name is that of a great Indian chieftain), in half of that now famous two-family house. The shortest and least conspicuous way back and forth to his office went by our front door. I used to see him walking along, head down, with an easy, slow stride, and always alone. Day after day he followed this route at the same hour. Once when I was watching him my father came into the room. The short paragraph called his creed had just appeared in the local papers, and my father had clipped it. He read it aloud. "A strange man," he said, "a man of the people." There was a kind of reverent conviction in his voice which I always remembered.

Coolidge never did partake wholeheartedly of the life of the town—whatever that may be. And for this reason, and despite his political record in Northampton, the town is not full of friends of his in the ordinary sense of the term. I asked Judge Irwin about this. Judge Irwin ("Dick" Irwin) is the President's closest Northampton friend. He admitted that Coolidge lived what would seem to most people an odd life; that he had no talk and couldn't be dragged out to "disturbances" or entertainments of any kind as most people can.

"This may or may not be news," said the Judge, "but the fact is that Calvin is shy. He dislikes the limelight. He hates

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to have his picture taken. He is an extraordinarily shy man, and always was. The only thing that overcomes his shyness is his work."

"How did he ever get started to run for office?" I asked.

The Judge smiled. "That's easy. We wanted a good man to run for alderman from Ward 2. I went to Coolidge and told him he was the man. 'Why?' he asked. 'Because you can do it.' 'All right, Captain,' said Calvin"—those were the days when Irwin was captain in the militia—" 'I'll do it.' "

I must not give the impression that Coolidge in those days was the instrument or tool of anybody or of any set of people. He was a soldier in the ranks of his party, and he played the game accordingly. The captain wanted him to be a corporal; he became a darned good corporal. Later the sovereign people of his State wanted him to be Governor, and got him.

Coolidge in his Northampton days was a very poor public speaker. He is far from being an orator now; the stuff is in his speeches, but he lacks the arts and conventional mannerisms of the platform. One of his friends, a seasoned hand in politics, went to him and urged him to school himself as a speaker. "Don't look so wooden and sorry that you're there," he said. "Smile, refer gracefully to the occasion that has brought you there. Tell a funny story or two. Make yourself popular."

"I'll try," said Coolidge.

A few weeks later he reported to his adviser: "It's no use. I can't do it."

"Why not?"

"Well, when I smile, I grin, and that doesn't go. Then I try to tell a funny story, and the people open their mouths and gape, but they don't laugh. So I've quit attempting to be anything else except Calvin Coolidge."

In the Prehistoric Days

If you want to get an idea of what Northampton thought of Coolidge in that prehistoric time, think yourself back into your own home town and imagine what a plain, studious, non-sociable, thrifty, ambitious lawyer with nobody back of him but his own people and his brains would be likely to do. Coolidge did it. You can see him for long hours in his office with his feet on the shelf of his desk, reading; or making notes; or looking out the window; or plodding up to the hotel to eat his lunch with a couple of friends who have clung close this long while to their strange yet very human chum; or sitting in his office or some one else's, or in shoemaker Lucey's basement shop, just kind of speculating about everything.

Peter O'Shea is a neighbor of Coolidge's—their houses are almost back to back. Peter is a writer of all kinds of things and a Democrat. He knows the Coolidge boys better than he does Coolidge, because they are a little nearer his age. Peter said:

"You ask me what Northampton thinks about Coolidge and whether Northampton discovered Coolidge before the State and the Nation did so? Well, a large part of Northampton did discover Coolidge underneath the sharp-nosed, red-haired, concrete form out of which he looks. I discovered Coolidge long ago.

Quid pro Quo

"The reason why Northampton didn't vocalize effusively about their neighbor is that Coolidge himself is a neighbor who is not effusive. In reacting toward a man people imitate him. Theodore Roosevelt was admired in a fashion which created a multitude of little Theodore Roosevelts with pleasantly visible teeth and fists ready to bang. Northampton people were as outwardly quiet toward Coolidge as Coolidge is to them. Roosevelt wanted banzai and 'bullys' from his admirers. Coolidge wanted only one definite thing—votes—and you will notice that in Northampton he always got votes aplenty. It is a sort of silent leadership. Some people think that anything which doesn't make a noise is miraculous.

"If Coolidge took it into his head to come home for a visit right now and there were good train connections at Springfield, I would not be at all surprised to see him with Mrs. Coolidge come into the Connecticut Valley coach, take a single seat, and at the Northampton station board a street car. And I wouldn't be surprised if during all that time scores or hundreds of Northampton citizens, recognizing him, passed by without stopping to speak to him. Some perhaps would nod, others would apparently not see him at all. Only a very few freaks who like to bask in the shadow of the great world would be drawn into breaking through the circle of self-conservatism. In this respect Northampton is a good deal like New York City.

"Perhaps Coolidge early discovered this, and became more Northamptonian than the Northamptonese. That may be the origin of the coat of social insulation which somehow or other insulates only against social annoyances and not against essential acquaintance."

Mark the last two words—*essential acquaintance*. Coolidge, because it is his character, insulates himself against whatever is not essential. He found certain people essential to his nature—a few only; his wife, a handful of friends. The rest of Northampton was essential only in so far as it sought him and in so far as he could serve it. He made no attempt there to be anything but Calvin Coolidge; started up none of your ordinary, political, artificial friendships that last till the votes are counted and then evaporate. If you stood on Main Street, Northampton, in front of the Draper House (the spot of maximum passers-by) and asked everybody in the course of a morning what he or she thought of Calvin Coolidge, you would get a collection of answers something like this:

"Don't know him. Seen him, of course. Voted for him. Good man. Queer duck."

"Don't know him. Heard him speak once. Great reading his speeches are. He helped my father once out of some law trouble and wouldn't take a cent."

"Know him just to say 'Hello.' How he says so little I don't see, but he does his job."

And a good many more like these. If you had luck and met one of those who do know him, he would take you into the Draper and sit you down and talk to you about Calvin Coolidge as long as you could listen. This would occur to-day. But if you had gone there and asked the same questions four or six or ten years ago, you would have received essentially the same replies with essentially the same enthusiasm, on the one hand, and lack of it, on the other.

I would like to know just what their home towns thought of some other great men. It would make an interesting comparison.

Dr. L. Clark Seelye, President Emeritus of Smith College, has lived in Northampton since the founding of Smith College. He was in his twenties when the Civil War came. He has voted for a great many Presidents of the United States, and, scholar, thinker, citizen, he possesses a matured judgment of men and things which, to me, makes this statement about Calvin Coolidge very impressive. I had asked him why Coolidge "kept out of things" in the sense that he refused to partake of the society of his fellows, and whether Northampton "discovered" him by itself. Dr. Seelye replied:

"Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge when they came to Northampton had few, if any, acquaintances in the city and no social connections. They both came to work, and their time was fully taken up with their employments. Mrs. Coolidge was a teacher in the Clarke School for the Deaf—an institution that is unusually self-centered with a social life of its own, and its teachers are not often seen in ordinary outside social gatherings. The time of Mrs. Coolidge was engrossed in

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learning how to teach mutes to articulate. Calvin Coolidge was a young lawyer studying law in a private office, anxious to learn the details of his profession, and with little inclination to enter into society. After their marriage they lived a simple home life, respected and beloved by those who knew them, but making no effort apparently to increase extensively their social opportunities.

"After Mr. Coolidge's election to the Legislature and during his subsequent political career most of his time was spent in Boston; and there it came about that Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge, although gradually becoming better known and more highly esteemed, were never as prominent in the social affairs of the city as might have been expected from their political distinction.

"It is not true, however, that Northampton has been behind the State and Nation in its appreciation of the worth of Calvin Coolidge. Notwithstanding his reticence, his fellow-citizens found him out and elected him successively to the most important municipal offices and the highest offices of the Commonwealth. It is rare to find a man so singularly devoid of the ordinary qualities of the traditonal office-seeker who has been elected to every office for which he has been nominated, and who has satisfied so fully his constituents by the way he has fulfilled his official obligations.

"It can be truly said that no President of the United States has ever been better qualified by his preliminary education to administer satisfactorily that high office than Calvin Coolidge, and those who know him best at Northampton believe that his moral and mental qualities will prove fully equal to all the demands which will be made upon the Nation's Chief Magistrate."

Since Coolidge has been President a lot of foreign newspaper reporters have from time to time swarmed into Northampton and have written the most incredible things about Coolidge—about what he is supposed to have said, done, and left undone. Such is the penalty of his office. Necessarily such reporters, conscientious as they are, have not had the feel of the town, the spirit of the life there, and they have not pictured to the country the thousand little, significant things which go to reveal a man's character and mode of thinking. Some of them, not finding that there was anything "big" or startling, have given an entirely false impression of Coolidge as a small-town man who led a typical small-town life, whatever that may be. I think that some of the quotations I have given will dispel that notion.

Although Northampton did really discover Coolidge before the rest of the country did, Northampton did not, perhaps, fully realize the importance of that discovery till the rest of the country agreed with her. This discovery is not without its plain moral, which is simple enough: That hard work and clear thinking, having in mind what you want to do, doing it, and in your own fashion, interfering in nothing else, paying no attention to what any one thinks of you, not wasting time in idleness, whether on the job or off it—that these qualities get you to your goal, destiny and luck regardless. They will not necessarily get every one who has them and exercises them to the White House. But they will get a man as far as he can go; and, after all, isn't that the best definition of happiness, success, service?

The German Youth Speaks Up

By HARBOR ALLEN

One of the amazing post-war phenomena in Germany is the Youth Movement. The author of this article has attempted to pierce through the sonorous phrases, exalted ideas, grandiloquent idealism, and adolescent fantasy which float upon the surface of this psychological whirlpool

OUT of the hate and sickness and revolt of post-war Germany has sprung the German Youth Movement—a plant not unworthy of its soil. Last spring a student from the University of Heidelberg came over to tell us all about this new and startling growth, with the hope, perhaps, of sprinkling its roots with rich American waters. Many European plants in need of golden fertilization have developed the habit of turning toward America as naturally as flowers turn toward the sun.

About the same time a newspaper, written in quaint Continental English and printed abroad, was distributed throughout the universities of America. But, despite these attempts at enlightenment, even to those of us who knew Germany old and new, the Youth Movement remained a misty, nebular thing, as elusive as a will-o'-the-wisp. Nowhere could you touch it with a "too, too solid" finger and say: "The German Youth Movement means this—and this—and this." Even an interview with the German delegate, a keen, sincere young fellow, failed to give me the clue for piercing to something more substantial this gaseous "triple armor" of sonorous phrases, exalted but hazy ideas, grandiloquent idealism, and adolescent fantasy. "But what *is* the German Youth Movement?" I asked again and again in America. And nobody, not even the German delegate, could answer.

But I found nobody in Germany who could answer either. What I did find was a vast, heterogeneous organization, encompassing grammar school children and university men, young laborers and peasants and merchants, jostling in bitter internecine controversy; but welded together by a bumptiousness and revolt typical of all youth, by a fierce earnestness typical of German youth, and by the conviction that in one coolly cruel month they could whip Germany out of the chaos which has been splitting the wisest heads of Europe for five years. And perhaps they could do it.

In almost any other country such a youth movement would be tolerated, even mildly encouraged; or, if it were betrayed into excesses, would be frowned or laughed out of existence. But in Germany the Youth Movement is accepted on faith; and no small percentage of the adult population looks upon it as the one green sprig on the charred and rotten trunk, hails it as the Messiah of the *Vaterland*. Everybody else has tried his hand and failed; why not youth? There is something of hysteria and despair in the manner in which people cheer and pet and goad it on. For the German, despite his acuteness, is peculiarly susceptible to the honest and high-minded but often vacuous rhetoric of romantic youth.

At first impression the German Youth Movement appears to be a band of hot-headed, muddle-brained, immature young chauvinists talking too glibly about "return to nature," "sun worship," "emotion instead of understanding," "the new freedom," "the Greek ideal," and endless other pretty phrases which most of them

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International

"In the summer the Youth Movement swarms out to the country roads, the forests, the mountain trails"

are probably too young to understand. It would be easy enough to laugh at their literature, their mystic symbols, their atavistic rites, their midnight ceremonies. But when one meets really fine, intelligent students, as I have done, so burning with the Youth Movement idea that they cut their lectures for months at a time, and mope about, stricken with *Weltschmerz,* waiting impatiently for "something to break loose"—any opportunity for action—you don't want to laugh. They have the "martyr complex," which runs like a shrill, quavering note through the whole of the Youth Movement chorus. And, after all, in five or ten years these youths will be the brain of Germany; and in that brain the Youth Movement will be responsible for more than one deep kink.

Arising from the "martyr complex"—by no means an uninspiring devotion to country—is the Teutonic kink; a cavernous kink, indeed, into which the German Youth Movement has tumbled headlong. Every member, be he Protestant or Catholic, Monarchist or Communist, is consumed with a zeal for "purifying" Germany of "alien elements." Concerning the constituency of these alien elements there is much vagueness and much dissension. But attributed to them by the German Youth Movement is the loss of the war and the subsequent crumbling of Germany. Your one hundred per cent German has not yet made up his mind whether the disruption of the glittering old Empire was due to the Americanization or the Hebraization of Germany; and in the meantime he finds it convenient to use both alibis. Unfortunately, this voluble type of patriot has, as one might suspect, a greater command of the ear of the German Youth Movement than has the less bombastic, more thoughtful type.

Wanted—a Definition of Purity

THE Teutonic turn gives some semblance of unity to the movement; though, on the other hand, it also gives rise to the bewildering cross-currents and the cloudy incoherence which make the Youth Movement so intangible and elusive. For each group is out to purify Germany after its own particular formula. At the bottom they are all, what appears to be to the foreigner at least, militantly German. But the Communists, for instance, have their own youth groups, working for a "pure German proletariat," purged of Jewish and French capitalistic imperialism; and at the top of their list of proscribed alien elements stand the Monarchist youth groups. The Monarchists decry the Communists as renegades from undefiled Germanism, alienated by Judaic Marxism. And so the Catholics bait the Protestants and the Protestants bait the Catholics; the Bavarians bait the Prussians; both together bait the Saxons; and all join in the grand sport of baiting the Jews. Everybody, in short, is having a great old time pointing with one accusing hand at his neighbor and with the other thumping himself vigorously on the back. Therein lies the tragedy, not only of the German Youth Movement, but also of the whole German nation. It is an old adage that "Where there are three Germans there are four opinions."

It is regrettable, too, that the Youth Movement has accredited as its favorite and more or less official authors writers who inculcate a bigoted "chosen people" conception of Germany. They reek of that old ante-bellum Germanic arrogance for which, justly or unjustly, the whole nation has paid a sickening bill. I have attended Youth Movement meetings at which the central part of the worship—for so it impressed one—was the reading from gospel *germanische* books by such authors as Barthels and de la Garde, a Teutonized Frenchman. The members were sometimes very young; the leaders more mature, generally likable, sincere young chaps, but drenched through and through with a lofty, fire-eating sort of patriotic idealism, impractical, a little silly, and—unless one puts one's self out to be sympathetic—offensive to the foreigner. The tawdry, self-adulatory patriotism these meretricious prophets preach would be harmless if it were not pumped so systematically into young and uncritical minds. However we may admire the German's many sturdy qualities, we must admit that he is appallingly weak in the faculty of self-criticism. But even so, I cannot altogether understand how some of the most intelligent and cultured men I have ever known can permit their sons to accept unchallenged from these cheap tom-tom beaters such palpable drivel, as, for instance, that Christ was a German; that every great civilization from the Egyptian up was Germanic, with the exception of the Hebrew civilization—which wasn't great; that Germany is doing the thinking of the world, and is the head spring from which all culture flows; that large cities are un-German, and therefore bad; that Germany should desert her metropolises, draw herself aside from the unholy smell of "modern Hebrew civilization," and become a self-sufficient agricultural

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state; that Germany of the early Middle Ages, in short, before it was polluted by unhallowed French, English, and Jewish ideas, was what some of us like to think America has become—God's own country. "We have to go back," I have heard Youth Movement leaders pronounce again and again, "we have to go back to the time when the German was not infected with the disease of foreign industrialism, when he was pure, simple, free, genuine, fierce to his enemies and true to his kin—and could carry a bear under each arm."

But the German of the older generation is not always to blame for the convictions of his sons. Indeed, his sons, if they are members of the Youth Movement, are probably not wont to consult him concerning what they should or should not believe. This is the "new liberty" of the German Youth Movement. "We don't want to be ruled by our elders; they have made a sorry enough mess of things"—a defiance neither unjustified nor limited to Germany. The German youth must sometimes suspect that independence is not a strong point in the German national character; and he must surely sometimes wonder if his father was not trained all too thoroughly in the virtue of obedience. It is an edifying thing to see a whole nation of young men for the first time struggling for a self-reliance and an authoritativeness of their own; but the nonchalant freedom which fits the American or the English youth so jauntily, so carelessly, looks at best clumsy on the young German—and often sits awry.

In the summer, for instance, the Youth Movement swarms out in mass to the country roads, the forests, the mountain trails. "*Wandervoegel*" they call themselves—migrating birds; and, with a knapsack on their backs and a beribboned guitar slung across a shoulder, they hike for days across the country, living on a few pennies a day, stopping overnight in the little *Herbergen* or huts owned by the Movement, singing through the magnificent German pine forests from one spot clustered with romance, history, and ivy to another. One rather likes, too, their swarming with flowing, capless manes of hair, with short trunks and Byronic shirts, with brown chests exposed and tawny legs bare. "If this is what they mean by 'return to nature' and 'depopulating the cities,'" one thinks, "then I'm for it." But, Greek ideal to the contrary, one *doesn't* like their swarming into refined restaurants clad in nothing more than a scanty pair of bathing trunks; nor their bathing stark naked by the open roadside, pubescent boys and girls together. "Just so the heart is clean!" they cry in defense of this *Nacktkultur*. An almost satisfying answer that. But when one remembers how many thousands of *Wandervoegel* there are, and from what a vast variety of homes they must come, one wants to answer: "True; but *is* it always clean?"

New Freedom—German Style

THERE is no doubt but that a more wholesome spirit of comradeship was needed between the German boy and girl; and that the Youth Movement has helped in a clean, quiet way to create it. It is equally true that some of the much-discussed "new freedom" was wanted in the German class-room to make it a little less effective and a little more human. But "new freedom" to too many of the Youth Movement leaders demands what is practically the dictatorship of the pupil over the teacher. Classes, they declare, ought, as often as the weather is clement, be held in the open, preferably in the forests. The forests are invested by the Youth Movement with especial glamour, because they were the sanctum of the ancient Teutonic tribes. "What shall we study to-day?" the teacher must ask of his pupils; and if they decide to read history, history it must be. If they want to hunt fat snails or pick pansies, then it is biology for a forenoon, or a day, or a week—until they get bored and hit upon a supine course in astronomy or a peripatetic one in geography. I do not mean to say that most of the schools of Germany, or even a large percentage, are played to this sloppy tune; but certainly some of them have been trying to improve on the theory that it is ineffectual, nay, dangerous, to coerce the young and plastic mind.

And yet, despite its fight for freedom from authority, the German Youth Movement makes liberal use of the strait-jacket on its own members. Again it is the old, old story of the struggle against somebody else's tyranny—to be substituted by a greater tyranny of one's own. Tobacco and beer, for instance, even among the young men in a country where neither has ever been considered evil, and one at least is regarded as a staple part of the commonplace diet, are absolutely taboo. To be caught smoking is almost as great a breach of faith as to discern any virtue in the Jew or any flaw in the ancient German. In one group I know that the members, ranging from eighteen to twenty-four years, voted to anathematize the works of Dostoyevsky and other Russians because they were alien to the "true German spirit." Indeed, the Youth Movement forceps are tightened rigidly on the question of criticism. I do not believe I am exaggerating when I say that in the "high" Youth Movement groups books, songs, plays, pictures, must be judged, not by their real merits, but by the criterion: "Is this red-hot German, or only lukewarm, or anti-German?" This critical bias is further intensified by their belief that publishing, stage producing, and professional criticism, down to the last printing-press, the last theater, and the last newspaper, are in the hands of the Jews—an alien race, incapable of fathoming the German soul. And this alien race, according to the Youth Movement *literati*, has usurped the intellectual court of Germany, subverting its lofty culture into a *Scheinkultur*—a phantom culture.

Coupled with this anti-Semitism, perhaps engendering it, is a pseudo-mediæval religiosity, also converted into an imitation and an exaltation of ancient German rites. The *Wandervoegel*, for example, observe their *Weihestunden*, their sacred hours, in the forests; or they revive forgotten bits of Mariolatry and naïve Mary songs. Sometimes they erect and burn in the dead of night a ceremonial pyre, and dance and sing about it, pledging German *Bruderschaft*. Often they have services at sunrise on mountain peaks, with bizarre symbolic dances and a baffling sort of light worship. One must not conclude, however, that these maneuvers indicate any specific religious attachment; they are simply an expression of religion in the abstract, of *Heimatsgefühl* and *Stimmung*. "Modern traditions are false and stupid. That is why we turn to mediæval traditions. And the modern Church, both Catholic and Evangelical, is sterile and suppressed. We want freedom of emotion, a release of the feelings. That is what we mean by religion."

Despite all these emotional explosions, however, the German Youth Movement might have remained salutary—at least innocuous—had it not become the pliable tool of sinister political forces. Like certain post-war American organizations, it was not shrewd enough to keep its tender fingers away from the coals of politics. While it is true that as a whole the Movement has never achieved political unity, and has even disavowed any political interest, nevertheless it has been swept repeatedly by national currents on to more or less the same political bar. Immediately after the war, for instance, the Movement as a whole—like the nation—was tinted with an exuberant democracy. Then successively it shaded into Socialism, a disillusioned nationalism, and, finally, a crimson monarchism. Since the Bavarian *Putsch* last November there has even been a slight but growing flux toward Communism, but Communism with no quenching of national fires.

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The Hitler *Putsch* illustrated how easily a high-spirited organization like the Youth Movement may be roped in by oily, pompous demagogues of Hitler's type, men with a heroic pose and a crying paucity of political intelligence. Hitler tucked practically the whole of the Bavarian group under his wing. He adopted their pet phrases, and they were his. He fitted them out with a cocky gray cap, a swastika flag, a shibboleth, "Down with the Jews," and marched them puffing with fatigue and pride up and down the cheering suburban streets of Munich; or raced them through thrilling bloodless battles—enough to make any live young chap's heart pump with a jerk—in preparation for "the day of freeing Germany." When the day came, Hitler jammed a few rickety rifles into their inexperienced hands, filed them into a beer-hall, and staged a musical-comedy revolution. That is, it would have been a musical-comedy revolution had not eighteen of these idealistic, selfless young patriots been shot down in the sight of their parents while attempting to overthrow the entire German Government.

For the rest the German Youth Movement is lost in a billowy cloud of romantic mysticism. "Don't try to understand anything," they tell you. *"Nur fuehlen"* (just feel, trust your emotions). "Our real purpose," they assure you, "is to seek the truth. We are trying to find God." If you ask *what* truth they seek and *how* they are trying to find God, they will expatiate at still greater length on their symbolic dancing, on their sun-worshiping, on their marriages at midnight by the light of torches in remote old ruins, and volumes of other hokum and claptrap, sometimes amusing, sometimes sad, but always comprehensibly dear to the heart of emotional youth. If you ask them how they plan to return to nature, how they are going to depopulate the cities, how they will drive out the foreign, un-German elements, they admit frankly that they don't know. It isn't necessary to know. All that is necessary is to know that you want to do so; the rest will come. And then, if you insist upon waving aside the settling fog and demand: "Yes, yes; but openly, frankly, what does the Youth Movement aim to be? *Was wollen Sie sein?"* you will get, perhaps, the answer I got: *"Wir wollen nicht sein. Wir wollen werden."* (We don't want to *be*—we want to *become*.)

Moving—but where?

In other words, the Youth Movement is moving—but it doesn't know whither. Like the lugubrious gentleman in the old song, it's all dressed up and doesn't know where to go.

The educated German, of course, views the Movement with more sympathetic spectacles than does the foreigner, although he by no means approves of all he sees. Still the overtone of accented nationalism cannot grate as harshly on his German, even if liberal, ears. "The chauvinistic side-track into which our youth has strayed," a friend told me, "is to be regretted, but it is not the prime significance of the Youth Movement. They are striving for an inner cleanliness and manliness. They may frequently be led into unwholesome practices, but the general tendency, with its emphasis on outdoor sport, on cross-country hikes, on responsibility and serious thinking, is undoubtedly good."

"The youth of to-day," a prominent educator said, "wants to finger its own reins. They are vehement, impulsive, abandoned in their emotionalism, and cloudy in their thinking. They are engaged in a blind, wordy search after fine ideals. They are trying to understand their *Weltschmerz;* trying to find a meaning in life. And, of course, they have failed. How many of us ever find a meaning in life? They have made mistakes and been led astray. They will make more mistakes and continue to fail. But we at least need not discourage them in the search. After all, the only definite thing one can say about our Youth Movement is that it is a picture of youth. And who can draw an accurate picture of youth?"

P. & A. Photos

An encampment of back-to-nature followers on the edge of a forest in Germany

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What Will Happen to Broadcasting

By RAYMOND FRANCIS YATES

Member Institute of Radio Engineers

The problems of radio have grown up over-night. Their solution may have a far-reaching influence, which we can only guess to-day. This article is a call to set your brain working

EVEN the most superficial student of economics knows that broadcasting as it is carried on at present has no parallel in commercial history. If it did have a parallel, our automobile manufacturers might be obligated to supply gas and oil gratis to every one who purchased their cars and our phonograph manufacturers would have to give records away with their machines. In broadcasting we have a situation that cannot long exist. Although the present situation cannot exist, broadcasting itself must carry on to satisfy some four million users of radio receivers.

While radio sales remain at their present high level, the manufacturers of equipment who support broadcasting stations will find themselves able to supply the needed funds for operation, which vary between $75,000 and $150,000 per station per year. When it is understood that some of the larger producers maintain a number of these stations, the financial drain becomes evident. Then, too, we must not forget that radio is going forward at a tremendous pace, for broadcasting began its career in early 1921, and over four million outfits have come into use since that time. The saturation point cannot be many years off.

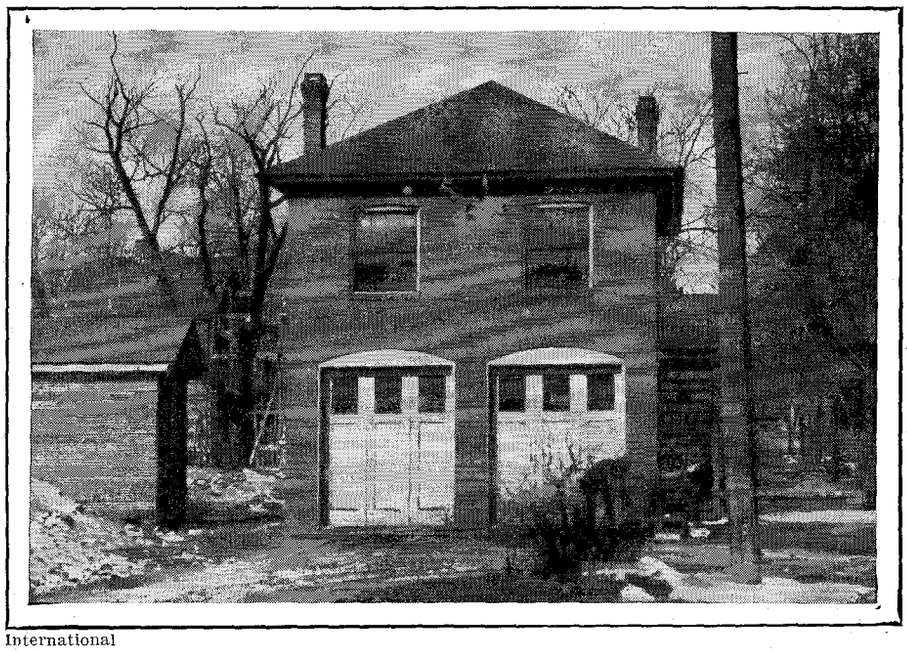
There is still another menacing cloud hanging over the head of the broadcasting industry. The writer refers to the matter of talent. Most of the musical talent that is now attracted by the broadcasting stations is of a mediocre nature, for the majority of the worthwhile stars find it impossible to stand before the microphone because of existing contracts with theatrical and phonograph interests. A similar situation existed in the phonograph industry when it was in the tin-horn age. All of the John Joneses and the Bill Smiths of the musical world put their offerings on records, and the people who bought phonographs did so either because they did not give a hang about talent or because they were thrilled by the feat of speech from an inanimate mechanism.

The broadcast listeners of to-day can be classified in a like manner. We have thousands upon thousands of people whose musical tastes run high above the average received from the air, but they are fascinated by the thrill that radio brings. When this thrill wears off, what? This class of people will not be satisfied with the programmes they are receiving to-day, and our broadcasters, like our phonograph manufacturers, will have to reach out for talent that is at present beyond their financial means. Then we must not forget that there are many people in this country who are not so susceptible to the thrill of radio and who will not purchase radio equipment until both reproduction and quality of talent are greatly improved.

The people whose musical tastes are easily satisfied and who are very susceptible to the fascination that radio has to offer make up the vast majority of those who own receivers to-day. It was the same class of people who gave the phonograph industry the support that it needed to become a factor in the business world. When our phonograph manufacturers found that this class of people alone could not support an industry of very great magnitude, they immediately set out to record the efforts of the best musical talent in the world. This move was the making of the phonograph industry, and it placed the phonograph in several millions of homes which it would not have reached otherwise. Broadcasting must parallel this plan, but it cannot do this while subject to the present conditions, which, if continued, will not only thwart its growth but actually menace its existence.

To the writer's knowledge, no person has ever been paid to broadcast except in a special case which will be mentioned later. If our broadcasters did make the mistake of paying some of the stars who will not broadcast unless they are paid, a great disaster might befall the industry. Petty jealousies would develop and many of those who are giving their services free would flatly refuse to continue on the same basis. Furthermore, it must be admitted that many people broadcast to-day from the station in their home town because there is in it a certain amount of glorification. They like the publicity and they are willing to call this compensation. The few stars who are lured to the studios broadcast, not because of any public-spirited feeling, but because the act is included in their publicity programme, which is part of their bread and butter. In general, it can be said that the class of people who are broadcasting to-day will not make radio the fine art that it deserves to be.

To prove some of the statements that the writer has made in connection with



International

This modest building, a garage at Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania, is said to be the original home of broadcasting. From it the election returns—announcing that Warren G. Harding was to be the next President of the United States—are said to have been transmitted to the country after having been received by telephone from Station KDKA, Pittsburgh

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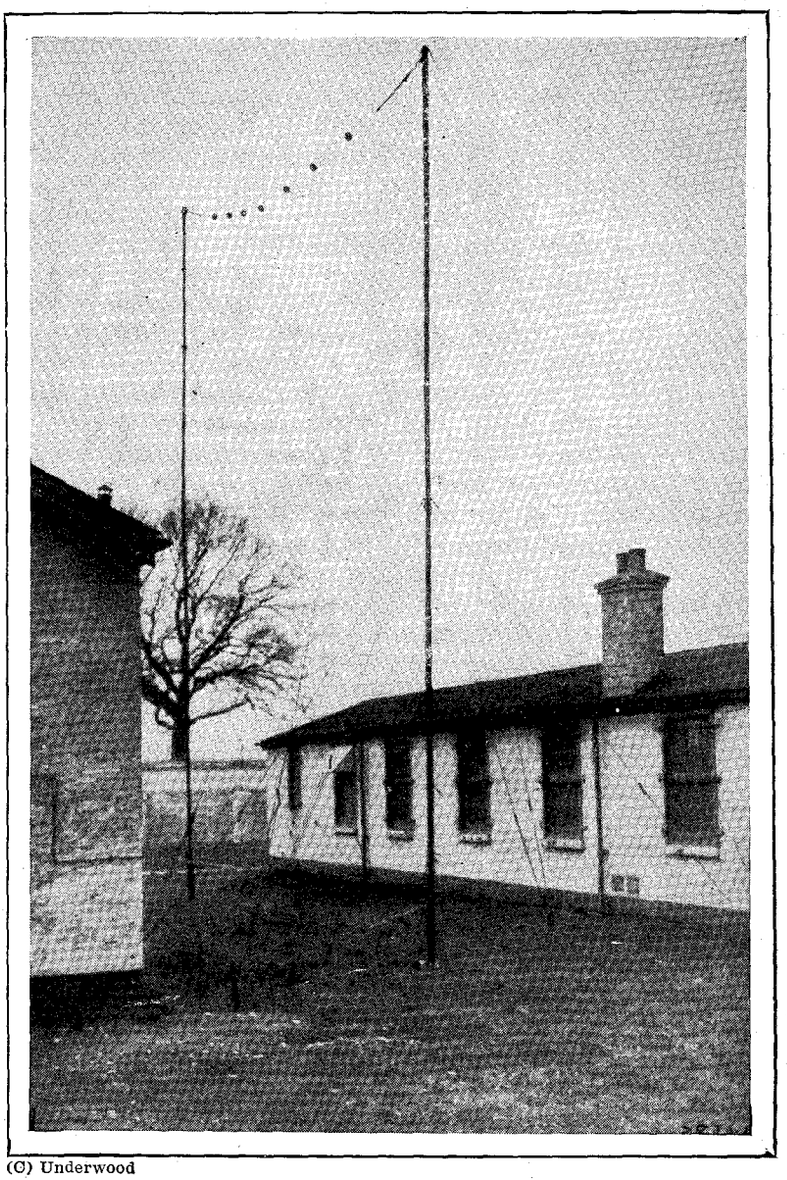
the insecure future of broadcasting if continued along the present lines, reference is made to a certain station in New York which is probably the most-listened-to station in the country, for the reason that it has found an indirect way of obtaining a higher class of talent, which is paid for. This is done by allowing National advertisers to use their studio for advertising purposes. The advertisers supply their own talent, and in one particular case the writer knows that an appropriation of several hundred thousand dollars has been made for the year 1924. Some of these advertisers are obtaining the best talent available for the particular class of entertainment that they broadcast. Consequently this station is a criterion of the country, and more tuning knobs are set for its programme than for any other. This proves that there is an actual desire on the part of the receiving-set owners to listen to better material.

Some light has been shed upon the attitude of the musical world toward broadcasting in a recent statement made by Mr. E. C. Mills, Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers. In a recent interview he said:

"Service to the receiving sets at the present time depends upon the charitable inclinations of publicity-hungry artists and musicians, or upon the willingness of advertisers to finance entertainment in order to have their names and the names of their products dinned into the ears of the radio audience.

"The broadcast listener can be assured that as long as profits flow to manufacturers from the sale of apparatus sufficient to justify continuance of broadcasting the service will be continued. The purchase of apparatus will be in direct ratio in volume to the quality and merit of the programmes. The standing of the talent will be dependent upon the compensation to that talent. Radio is a niggardly buyer, as now organized. It expects free service from its talent and proposes that the advertising it gives will compensate the entertainer. Radio must pay its way, as do other enterprises of which it is the actual and active competitor, such as thousands of theaters, dance-halls, and cabarets. Music is the foundation upon which the structure of radio in its popular aspects rests."

It was pointed out by Mr. Mills that representative radio interests present the following arguments against payment: That radio stations do not pay the entertainer, and therefore the composer should not be paid; that a broadcasting station receives no compensation for the service it renders, and, receiving nothing, it should not be expected to pay for talent; that broadcasting renders a great service by creating a demand for compositions.



(C) Underwood

A radio station in Kent, England, designed to pick up and relay programmes from America

Stations operated by universities are considered non-commercial by the American Society of Authors, Composers, and Publishers, and they are granted a free and unrestricted license.

Mr. Mills added: "It is true that since receiving sets have been installed in many homes phonographs and pianos have been unused. Sheet-music sales and phonograph-record sales were never in the history of the business at as low a point as now. Royalties have depreciated because radio is now the source of furnishing music. Music can exist better without radio; but can radio exist without music?

"In 1921 citizens of the United States purchased $600,000,000 worth of musical merchandise. In 1923 they purchased $200,000,000 worth of radio apparatus. Approximately 8,000,000 phonographs have been sold in this country, and a survey shows that there are in excess of 3,000,000 radio receiving sets. It is thought that 10,000,000 people listen to the radio every evening. Moving pictures entertain about 20,000,000 people daily. The 10,000,000 people listening to radio used to do something else—play their pianos, turn on their phonographs, go to the movies, dance-halls, theaters, or ride in their autos. It can be seen that radio is a competitor of other means of entertainment which 'pay their way.'"

When signers appear at broadcasting stations not holding a license to radiate compositions controlled by the Society of Authors, Composers, and Publishers, they are handed a long list of compositions which cannot be impinged on the microphone. One singer who appeared at WJZ recently said: "I received a number of requests by telephone to sing special selections, but it was against the rule of the station. Before long the restrictions will be so heavy that it will be difficult to sing favorite compositions over the radio."

One of our phonograph manufacturing

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companies have recently made plans that might relieve the situation a great deal if carried out. They would manufacture and sell combined phonographs and radio instruments and operate broadcasting stations at the same time, placing their stars on a contract that would include both broadcasting and recording. This would place at the disposal of the listeners-in talent that has heretofore been unobtainable.

Tax is a mean-sounding word these days. It conjures up pictures of fat collectors clothed in authority which they use with reckless abandon. At the very mention of the word we automatically think of our pocketbooks. Consequently the writer hastens to explain that the term is used here for the want of a more expressive one. We might call it a radio service fee. The automobile tourist does not grumble when he realizes that part of his State tax goes for the maintenance of the roads that his six-cylinder bus goes bounding over, bringing his eyes to feast upon the green fields and spacious valleys. The roads are public. The street lights are public, as well as the parks and waterways. Could anything be more public than the ether? True, one must have a radio set to tap the ether, but one must also have an automobile to enjoy the roads and a motor boat to enjoy the waterways.

If broadcasting is to grow and prosper, we need a non-partisan Federal Commission of educators, entertainment and technical experts to govern, regulate, and control broadcasting and to arrange for the collection of a small yearly fee from each owner of a receiving set. The fee asked might depend upon the receiving range of an outfit; the greater the range, the greater the service available to the owner. Our manufacturers could be very easily induced to contribute to this fund. Say that an average fee of five dollars yearly was collected from each of the four million odd listeners. This would make available over $20,000,000. Assuming that it required $2,000,000 for the collection of the fee and the general expenses of the commission, $18,000,000 would be left for the broadcasting stations. This sum would not need to be divided between the 510 broadcasting stations now operating. We have approximately 470 stations too many. Forty stations placed at strategic points could very easily blanket the United States. This especially in view of the tendency toward time payments on instruments, which means that those who can now afford nothing better than a crystal outfit, which has a range in the neighborhood of twenty-five miles, will be able to invest in more sensitive and elaborate instruments. This would leave a fund of approximately $400,000 a year for each broadcasting station, and then the average sensitive receiver would still be able to come within range of ten or more of the broadcasters. With $400,000 to meet expenses and for the employment of real artists, broadcasting would soon change from a makeshift to an art, and

(C) Underwood

Gertrude Lawrence, an English musical comedy actress broadcasting a song from WEAF, New York. She seems happy in the thought that her friends in London are "listening in"

the hunt would be on for radio voices just as it is now on for movie faces.

Within the next three years radio will do one of three things. We can have Federal control, a system of subscription through a specially designed receiver for secret transmission, or what has recently become known as wired wireless. These latter problems are entirely technical, but their solution is imminent enough to regard them as possible remedies for the broadcasting tangle. Of course they would make it possible for the broadcasters to collect for their service, otherwise they could not be regarded as possible solutions.

A practical system of secret transmission would be a delicious solution of the problem. By this we mean the development of an apparatus that will allow the transmission of any broadcasting station to be secret except to those who have rented or leased the special instrument that will respond to the waves. This could be done by scrambling several wave-lengths in such a way as to make them unintelligible except to those who possessed the proper kind of a receiver. Such a system is in use to-day, but not for the purpose of broadcasting, and it is doubtful if it would meet the demands of this type of service. With scrambled waves, any one with a receiver of ordinary design would receive nothing but patches of the programmes, which would sound like the gurglings of an infant.

Wired wireless looms up as a more alluring possibility than secret transmission. By wired wireless we refer to the method invented by Major-General Squiers, Chief Officer of the Signal Corps of the United States Army. Squiers found that it was possible to make a radio wave follow a wire with bulldog-like persistency. This can be done without the radio wave in any way violating the rights of the currents already passing through the wire. Consequently it is possible to send radio waves along a wire without in any way interrupting the electric service passing through it. Some of our larger power companies are using this wired wireless or "carrier wave" system over transmission lines bristling with as many as one hundred thousand volts.

A few of our power companies have been quick to realize the possibilities of this system as an extension to the service that they are already giving their customers. Now a few of them have given the plan more than a superficial tryout, and there appears to be little standing in the way of immediate adoption. This means that some of our power stations may become broadcasting stations and the wires that heat our toasters and light our lights can bring us the news and music of the world as well. This service can be charged for, and it will be illegal to tap the wires (something any clever amateur can do) without the payment of a fee.

Although elaborate plans are now being laid for the establishment of wired wireless on a rather pretentious scale, it is doubtful that it will entirely replace what we call space broadcasting. First and foremost, it is not universal, and there are thousands upon thousands of homes in this country that could not possibly be connected with the service. But it is almost certain that wired wireless will have its fling, and in having its fling it is going to add more real sour vinegar to the pickle that our space broadcasters are in at the present time. The wire broadcaster will be able to pay the people who offer their services, and they will, of course, attract a much better class of talent. The good amateurs who now broadcast for nothing might be induced to leave our space-casters, and furthermore our wire-casters would offer inducements to a class of talent that cannot be touched at the present time by the station operators for very good reasons. Wired wireless will relieve the situation to some extent in one way, but make it more involved in another.

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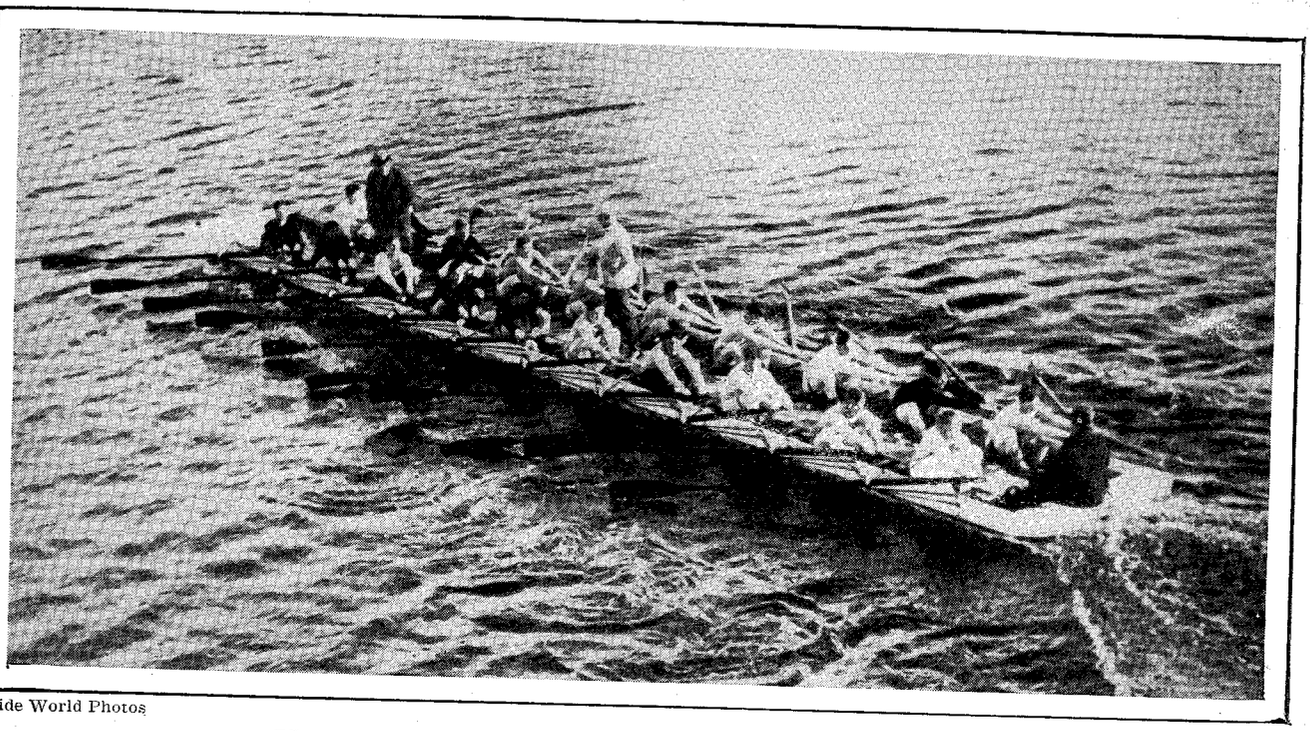
Crews in the Making



Wide World Photos

Harvard Tries Out a New Barge on the Charles River

This twenty-oared creation, though built only for coaching purposes, suggests that the time may come when Harvard and Yale compete in biremes and triremes instead of shells. That would at least satisfy the modern urge to bring out a greater number of participants for sports!

(C) Underwood

Oxford and Cambridge Show Their Fighting Faces in Preparation for the Annual Regatta on the Thames

The stroke of the Oxford crew (below) is W. P. Mellon, an American Rhodes scholar

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The Book Table

Come-Outers

Two Reviews

By Edmund Lester Pearson

THE man who conspicuously or violently opposes the religious, political, or social ideas of his time may be inspired both by courage and wisdom; he may be full of courage and have no wisdom at all; he may deserve admiration and support, or merely be entitled to pity and consideration. But certainly he is neither dull nor uninteresting; to the great mass of us, conformists and regulars as we are, he is like a meteor in the sky, astonishing if not always useful. He furnishes the caviare and the cordials, while others are bringing the commonplace meat and vegetables. Sometimes his contribution has turned out to be the important and necessary one.

Between 1833 and 1844 the Unitarians already had come out from the Congregational Church; the Universalists were coming out from the Baptists; presently there appeared a more astonishing Come-Outer—as they were called—than any member of either of these sects. William Miller, a farmer of Low Hampton, New York, a good and sincere man, through overmuch pondering upon the Scriptures had become the victim of a fixed idea—an idea which brought sorrow to himself and to countless innocent people. He was a veteran of the War of 1812; he was studious and religious. Meditating for years upon the mysterious prophecies of Daniel and accepting literally the Hebrew metaphors in the Old Testament, he found himself entangled in an intricate system of calculations pointing to the Second Advent of Christ and the destruction of the world by fire. Some time between 1843 and 1844, as he began to predict and to preach, the Lord would appear in the clouds, the righteous would be caught up into the sky to meet him, and the earth would be purified by fire. After this, dreadful things would befall the unrighteous.

In "Days of Delusion,"[1] a book of unusual interest, Clara Endicott Sears has written a history of the Millerite times, described the life of the prophet himself, and told the story of how he sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind. Men's minds were then all too ready for something to craze and unsettle them. Miller's prophecies spread and gained power; waned and faded; grew again in importance as the meteoric showers of 1833 and the great comet of 1843 disturbed the credulous; his followers suffered disappointment as the prophet fell sick and lost his leadership almost at the moment of the expected Second Coming; and were disappointed again as the earth, both in the spring and in the autumn of 1843, remained calm and fair and refused to go up in flames. Excited folk stood on hilltops, climbed trees, or gathered in graveyards in their ascension robes, and then returned, humiliated, to their homes, to face the jeers of their neighbors.

In my native town (where, I am sorry to learn from this book, Prophet Miller was nearly mobbed) it is always told that a band of Millerites met in a sail-loft, to be ready to ascend when the glorious moment came. Among them was the usual doubting and blasphemous sea captain, brought there, rather against his will, by his friends and relatives. They waited and waited, until finally the captain reached under his ascension robe and brought out a large silver watch. "Waal," he said, "I'll give Him another three-quarters of an hour, an' then I'll begin to scoff."

The author of "Days of Delusion" has made personal investigations of her subject; has drawn upon books of the time; but has also greatly enlivened her work by anecdotes sent in response to newspaper advertisements by scores of those who recollected the stories told by parents or grandparents who lived in the Millerite days.

There is more than a casual similarity between the Millerites of 1843 and the conscientious objectors[2] of 1917–18. Both groups contained many honest and sincere men; both groups contained fanatics. Both set out to defy generally accepted opinions; both had sometimes to endure derision, if not persecution and bodily discomfort. There were thoughtful men, as well as hopeless cranks, in each camp. Mr. Thomas, of the Civil Liberties Bureau, himself a conscientious objector, says all that can be said for those with whose opinions he agreed; he says it temperately and admirably.

The delusions of Miller and his followers brought sorrow and insanity to many harmless folk. The conscientious objector brought most of his suffering—if there was any—upon his own head. There it usually ended, although, of course, it is quite possible that if I indulge in refusing military service to satisfy my conscience some other man will go to the front and be killed in my place. That is worth consideration, although it is not an adequate answer to the conscientious objector. For the Quaker who refuses to fight, but willingly accepts non-combatant service and relief work, no reasonable man can feel much beside respect. That things would go to the dogs if all shared his belief is probably true. For the Socialist who will fight only in a war against capitalism, and still more for the extreme fanatic who

[1] Days of Delusion: A Strange Bit of History. By Clara Endicott Sears. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $3.

[2] The Conscientious Objector in America. By Norman Thomas. Introduction by Robert M. La Follette. B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York. $2.

From "Days of Delusion," by Clara Endicott Sears. Courtesy Houghton Mifflin Company

Last Day Tokens

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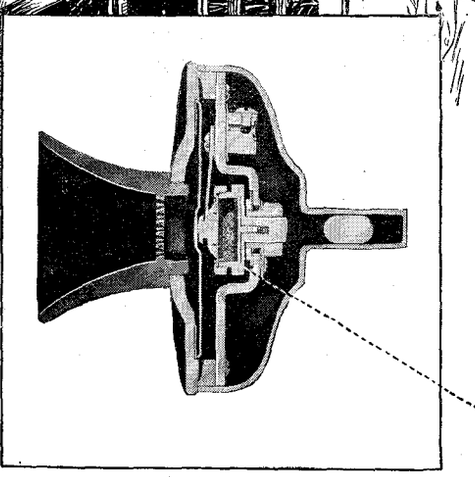
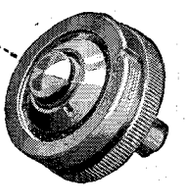


The telephone transmitter in cross-section. Your voice sets up vibrations which are carried through the treated coal particles; thence as electric currents over the wires.

This is the carbon button, in which treated grains of coal are placed. Vibrations of your voice cause these grains sometimes to bunch, sometimes to touch each other lightly — offering a constantly changing path for the voice currents.



Coal
— *in your telephone* *

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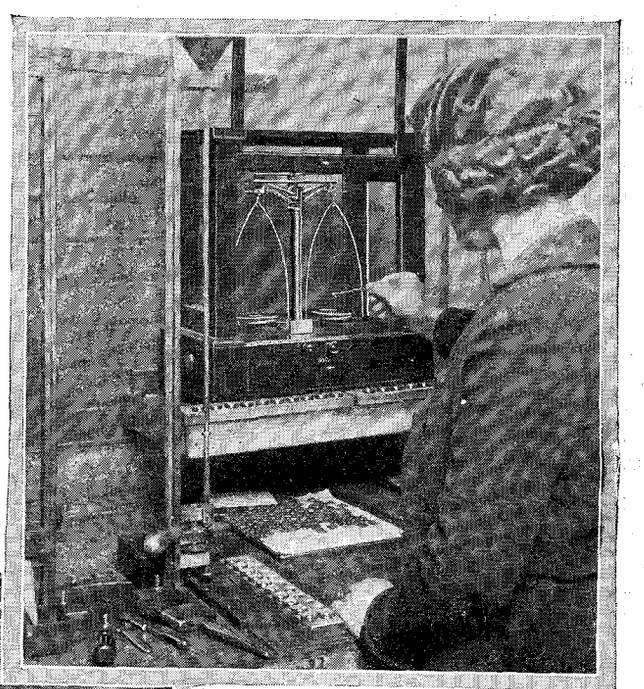
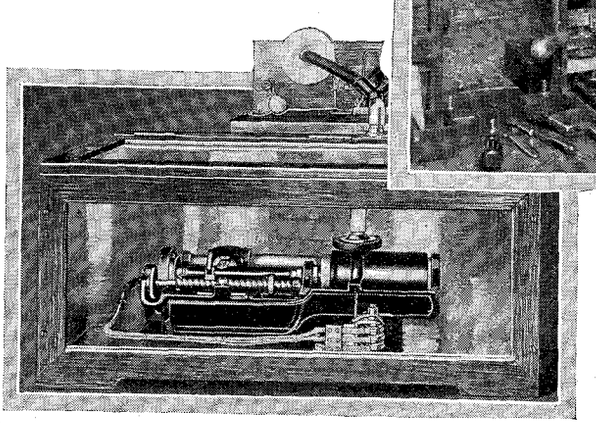
This treated coal offers a means of translating into electrical impulses the vibrations of the voice and even the inflections and mannerisms peculiar to any one voice.

Skill of a high order is essential in making the carbon button and indeed all of the 201 individual desk telephone parts. This craftsmanship has been a Western Electric standard ever since 1877.

**No. 7 of a series on raw materials.*



Weighing the grains of coal that go into the carbon button. A skilled operative, using a chemist's delicate balance, checks the amount which this button contains.



To make sure that the carbon button is filled right and that the whole transmitter has been properly assembled, phonographs like this repeat the phrase, "1, 2, 3, 4, 5," many thousand times into the mouthpiece.

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AP

declares that he would not help a wounded man to a drink of water if the wounded one had been engaged in warfare, it may be possible to feel pity, but one has to be of his peculiar way of thought to find admiration for him. Among those who in 1918 refused to fight because of religious belief it was not unusual to discover men whose mental processes and modes of life were those of the third rather than the twentieth century.

Mr. Thomas correctly points out that the objectors were often men of superior education. And, as anybody knows who met them, that was precisely the trouble with them. They were the true type of highbrow—educated beyond their intellects. The brain had gone to seed with too much book-learning. Artists and poets—or self-styled artists and poets—they sometimes resented military service because it interrupted the practice of their "art." Intense and sometimes almost insufferable egoists, they hated to sink their so-important individualities in drilling with other men. And, given a chance to stand out and be peculiar again, even in an army camp, they hugged their martyrdom to themselves, as a mediæval ascetic enjoyed the pebbles he put in his shoes.

Mr. Thomas's book has two underlying fallacies. One of these is in his phrase "friends of civil liberty," which is similar to the claim of the Millerites that they were the "elect." There were other friends of civil liberty who knew that there are times when men must surrender some of their liberties for a while in order that liberty may not perish altogether. The other is the assumption that because the settlement of the war has been unsatisfactory, it is therefore proven that the pacifists were right who proposed to offer no opposition, but "for conscience' sake" to allow Germany to dominate the world.

The New Books

BIOGRAPHY

FAILURE (THE) (UN UOMO FINITO). By Giovanni Papini. Authorized translation by Virginia Pope. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York. $2.

The extraordinary popularity of Papini's "Life of Christ" is a tribute not so much to its literary skill as to its devotional quality. A world oppressed by doubt and indifference has been reassured and heartened by this simple, vivid, and reverent story of the man Jesus. "Un Uomo Finito," called "The Failure" in this admirably rendered English version, is the story of the man Papini in earlier and very different phases from that which produced the

A New Harvard Book
Prophets of Yesterday
by John Kelman

Carlyle, Arnold and Browning are the three prophets of the nineteenth century whose message for our own day is here interpreted with rare charm by the famous minister of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City. Carlyle represents that tendency in English thought which emphasizes the sway of conscience and the call of duty; Arnold stresses the call of beauty and of ideals; Browning reconciles these two points of view which are only too often opposed to one another. The message of all three will bring new inspiration to readers who are seeking the highest and best in modern literature.

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This question in Dan. 12: 6 was answered 2,500 years ago by a *chronological scheme of four periods, but the meaning was* "sealed" "till the time of the end." A pamphlet purporting to show that this time-lock may now be opened because the periods are found to all culminate in a single year can be obtained from W. R. YOUNG, 4481 Mission Drive, San Diego, Cal. Price 35 cts. (silver or money order if possible), 3 copies $1.

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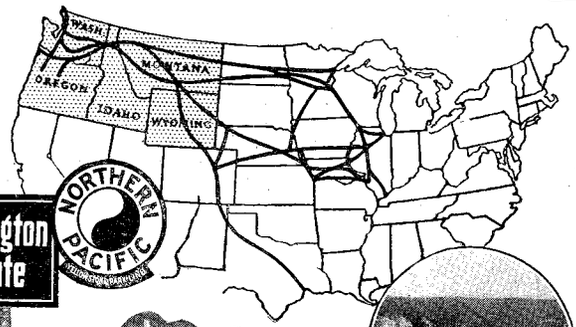
The Pacific Northwest



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famous "Life." It seems (on internal evidence) to have been written ten or a dozen years ago. Papini was then about thirty. He had made himself well known in Italy as a brilliant radical and skeptic. He had felt power and earned something like fame. And he had come to feel that it was all nothing, unless it might turn out to have been a preparation for real achievement.

Chapter by chapter, with a sort of mournful passion, he traces the record of his hopes, his studies, his failures in scholarship, in philosophy, in literature. No plaudits from without deceive him as to the secondary nature of his achievement. He despises those who do not know enough to despise him. He vaunts a gospel of contempt, of misanthropy, with tears of anguished sympathy brimming his eyes. Towards the end of the narrative he puts the whole truth: "I am, to say the whole thing in two words, a poet and an iconoclast, a dreamer and a skeptic, a lyrist and a cynic. . . . There are moments when I am just a pitiable sentimentalist. . . . There are times when I become the wolf of Hobbes, with fangs that must needs tear and bite. . . . Nothing is sacred to me. . . . In any case, however, I remain the man who *refuses to accept the world*. This attitude is the common principle of unity and consistency in my two incoherent souls."

A book of youth—of furious defiance and nonconformity, of desperate lifting at the boot-straps, of disillusion and discouragement. And yet in the final chapter, with the consciousness of approaching maturity—and of being crowded by a younger youth, a fresher iconoclasm—that defiance touches the note of resolve. This man has failed, but he is by no means finished, done for. He feels that his real work lies before him. And so this striking but not conceivably popular book modulates to its close with his own definition of it: "These pages are not my biography, but rather an accurate account of my innermost life. The explanation and the key to all the rest of my work are to be found here. This is not a work of art—it is a confession to myself and to others."

A true definition, it would seem. Why do the publishers offer this book as "an autobiographical novel"?

FICTION

FOUR BELLS: A TALE OF THE CARIBBEAN. By Ralph D. Paine. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.

There is no really new story to be told of the Spanish Main. The formula was established long ago: The desert island—buried doubloons—the buccaneer's chart (with or without cipher)—the Northern adventurer, the Southern beauty—the heartless villain—the sea fight, the land ambush—shovels, cutlasses, sharks,

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pieces of eight. We have them all by heart. And yet (unless, alas! we have forgotten how to believe in pirates) they are by no means done for as ingredients of a good story. Nobody really wants new materials for a fairy story or a pirate story. We love these old playthings partly because they *are* old and ours. The fun is to think up a new game with them.

Ralph D. Paine is the big boy who can do this. He neither works too hard over it nor does it so perfunctorily that we suspect him of laughing in his sleeve. He has just the clever and careless high spirits that we like in a playfellow. Of course his Yankee, Richard Cary, is a superman; of course he can sling a greaser round his head by one leg, wrench the iron bars from a wall, or toss a machine gun overboard with a thumb and finger. He is the hero, and these things are his job. And of course he can be sandbagged and stabbed in the back without passing out; we need him in our business, and so does the heroine. The whole test of the performance is whether the story-teller himself, from first to last, is getting fun out of it; and there is no doubt about that in this case.

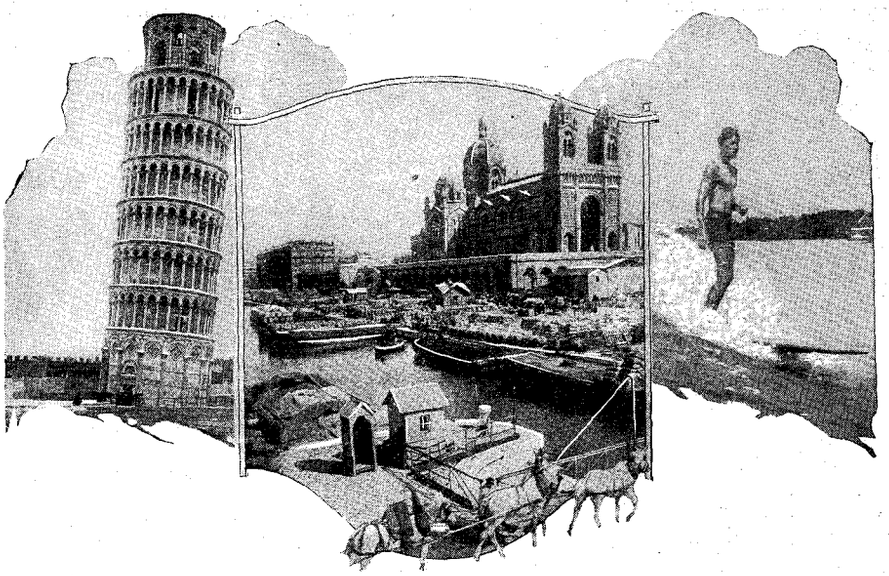
MINCE COLLOP CLOSE. By George Blake. Robert M. McBride & Co., New York. $2.

The strange title of this book of short stories might be translated into the New York dialect as "Hogan's Alley" or "Hell's Kitchen." For Mince Collop Close is a tough section of Glasgow, and the stories center about Bella Macfadyen, a girl gangster, the "Queen of the Fan Tans," and leader of a group of robbers and enemies to the police. Bella is a fine modern outlaw, and in the last story it is plain that America is to be favored with her presence. But she is never again quite so believable as in her first appearance, as a vigorous tomboy, in the opening story.

SIEGE. By Samuel Hopkins Adams. Boni & Liveright, New York. $2.

In this story Mr. Adams has once more exhumed the Victorian dowager and propped her up for extended and thorough, if possibly superfluous, re-examination. The aristocratic Tartar, who worships nothing but her family in the abstract, and has no use for her family in the concrete except as it knuckles under to her slightest nod—this and no other is the "Grandante" Augusta Ruyland of "Siege." We know all about her after two chapters; we have known all about her since the days of Trollope and earlier. We don't quite see why she should be trotted out again for such elaborate scrutiny. From Mr. Adams's excitement about her, you might think he had invented her.

Contrasted with her, and opposed to



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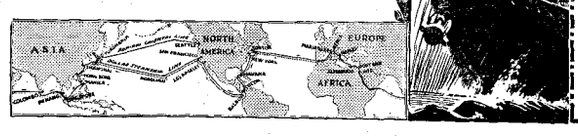

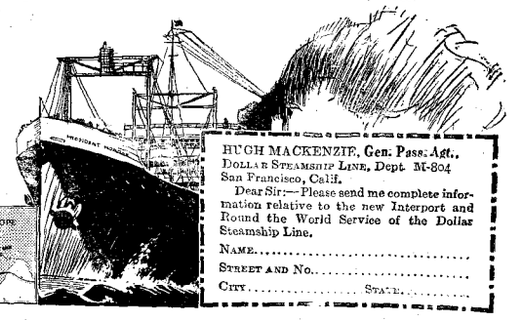

HUGH MACKENZIE, Gen. Pass. Agt., Dollar Steamship Line, Dept. M-804 San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sir:—Please send me complete information relative to the new Interport and Round the World Service of the Dollar Steamship Line.

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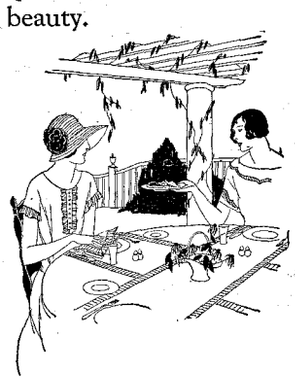
Fine Linens

for Your Summer Home

SUMMER with its many demands upon your hospitality will soon be here. And entertaining always requires a completely equipped Linen Chest. From McCutcheon's bountiful supply you can fill your needs with the assurance that every article is pure in quality—and that prices are as moderate as the superior character of the merchandise permits.

Damask Table Linens

A notable variety of exclusive and of standard designs in Table Linens awaits your selection here. McCutcheon Linens are famous for their long wearing qualities and for their rare beauty.



Fancy Linens

Exquisite needlework and lace decorate many of the imported sets while others depend upon the fineness of their linen for their distinctive charm, and there are a host of doilies and odd pieces as elaborate or as severely plain as you wish.

Bed Linens and Towels

Abundant assortments from which to choose your Household Linens—Sheets and Pillow Cases, lightweight Comfortables and Blankets, and there's every towel the household can need in an endless variety of sizes and weaves.

Send for New Catalogue No. 35

Write today for your copy of our new Spring and Summer Catalogue No. 35. It features every department of the Linen Store and is profusely illustrated.

James McCutcheon & Co.

Department No. 35

Fifth Avenue, 34th and 33rd Streets, New York

her in the most black-and-white fashion, is the girl Fredericka, labeled "modern" from the first page. Fredericka happens to be of good family. But she has not been reared in the shadow of the Ruyland conventions, which are sadly old-fashioned. She drinks, she swears, she disports herself freely at road-houses and "parties" of all sorts. She is, we are to believe, full of gayety and innocence; a sort of super-flapper with a soul. Like most of her kind, she is aggressively and defiantly gay. Why she is foolish enough to marry a Ruyland we cannot make out; Kennion Ruyland is patently a stick and a weakling if there ever was one. All but a few of these four hundred pages are given to an account of the war between Fredericka and Grandante Augusta. Frankly, it gets to be dull work. We are relieved when Fredericka is at last free to marry the right man and Augusta is left to realize what a disagreeable and futile old cat she is.

WITH BENEFIT OF CLERGY. By Florence Hackett. Boni & Liveright, New York. $2.

This book is a workmanlike product of the dingy school of fiction. There is nothing salient about it, nothing to be remembered. Nobody could conceivably read it twice. We recognize its minute fidelity to fact, to physical appearances and human traits. It is a piece of technically perfect but quite uninspired naturalism. And only an inspired naturalism—a veracity at least touching the plane of creative realism—ever lives overnight. This is the gloomy tale of a dull Irish farmer who in late middle age lets himself be married to a cross-eyed slattern. She is a bad housekeeper, a bad wife, a bad mother, and comes to a bad end. There is one child, a girl, the idol of her father's heart. She dies, the wife deserts him. "And then there was one."

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

LAST SECRETS (THE): THE FINAL MYSTERIES OF EXPLORATION. By John Buchan. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.50.

Good, true stories of adventure for men and boys, and all others who like to read of exploration and brave deeds. These are about the discovery of the two Poles of the earth, the first knowledge of Lhasa, the ascent of Mount McKinley, the attempt on Everest, and other romances of strange and inaccessible places.

DRAMA

CHANGELINGS (THE): A Comedy. By Lee Wilson Dodd. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.50.

Mr. Lee Wilson Dodd's near-tragic but wholly amusing comedy "The Changelings," successful on the stage, loses neither its intellectual provocativeness nor its ability to entertain when no longer reinforced by the actor's art. The more technical stage directions, such as

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deter many from full enjoyment in reading plays, have been eliminated in this excellent library edition. The play reads smoothly, and affords an hour of satisfactory diversion to those who look for diversion only, with something over for those who think as they read.

POETRY

ROMAN POETRY. By E. E. Sikes. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.50.

Wit, scholarship, and warm humanity conspire to produce a readable and instructive sort of book under this not very exciting title. Professor Sikes's expressed purpose is to show the place of the poet as the interpreter of Roman life; but incidental to the special scholarship of this Fellow of Cambridge (which we may assume to be ripe and correct) there is a good deal of shrewd and sound sense on the essential character and function of poetry in general. An idea of the nature and scope of the work may be gained from the divisional readings: Roman Criticism—From Cicero to Horace; Roman Criticism—Post-Augustan Criticism; Nature in the Latin Poets; Poetry and Philosophy; Language and Style; The Ornaments of Latin Verse.

GAMES

FOSTER ON MAH JONG. By R. F. Foster. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.

There are over twenty ways to pronounce and spell it (although Mr. Foster is strong for Mah Jong—no Mah Cheuk for him) and there are many disputes about its origin and its social standing as a game.

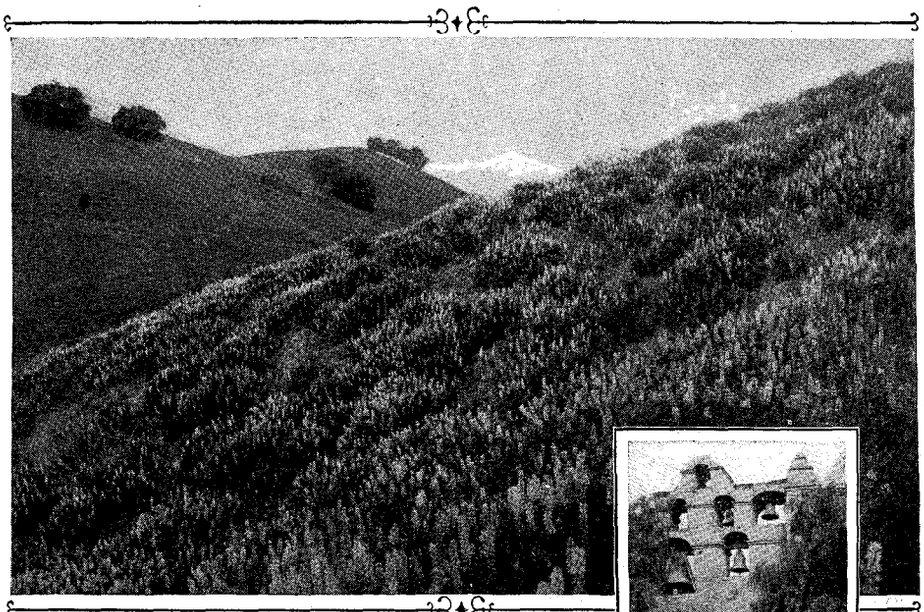
But what do these matter? Here is an attractive little book, with all that you need to know in order to play.

EDUCATIONAL

EDUCATION THROUGH THE IMAGINATION. By Margaret McMillan. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $2.

This book, evidently English, is devoted to portraying the importance of imagination in the development of the mind. While not in the least belittling the value of cultivating the memory, the author makes a plea for the necessity of training the imagination, a faculty absolutely necessary for material as well as mental development.

The author speaks of America as a country where the art period has been skipped, comments on our enormous inventive genius, our resource and our restlessness, and says, "It is certain that this race is getting its house or home ready for some destiny of which we have as yet no glimpse." She then goes on to speak of the dwellers in the Hebrides, still living in a most primitive way (some of their houses have neither chimney nor window), and yet producing many scholars. Their imagination has taken an artistic form—"the glories and glooms of

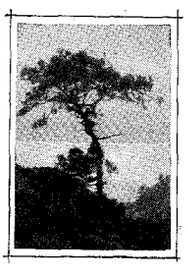


"Summer Wonderland"

it is called by thousands who have been here

IT'S amazing how many who have been here return year after year. That's especially true of summer vacationists. For here in a small section of the United States they find the wonders and the beauties and the fun of three continents combined.

And each day is fine for outdoor play—*no rain* to mar a single hour. Each night is cool enough for blankets. Southern California is an ideal summerland, as you will see by the forty-seven year records of the average mean temperatures recorded by the United States Weather Bureau in a central city of this district:



47 Junes.....66 deg.	47 Augusts...71 deg.
47 Julys.....70 deg.	47 Septembers.69 deg.

You motor for hours on a mile high boulevard, getting on either side views that hold you spellbound. Or you pass between miles of orange groves that are strange and different.

You see a desert like Sahara with the unique foliage of the sandy waste. You wander in gardens of rare blossoms from many lands. You walk out onto a rocky headland to feel the salt spray on your face. Or you stroll along a sandy beach, hardened by the wash of the restless surf.

Nearby sources of raw material, an unmatched year-round climate, the cheapest hydro-electric power in America, and contented, happy workers have brought an amazing industrial growth here with untold opportunities for manufacturers and investors.

There are Spanish missions, built by pioneering padres. There's the great Hollywood Bowl, filled nightly by the thousands who love the symphony orchestra.

Vast wildernesses, giant trees, the rich San Gabriel and other valleys, once deserts, cities and towns, unlike those you know, famous hotels and restaurants—all this and much more is here to make each day a glorious adventure.

Come and see. Play golf or tennis. Hike, ride and swim. Fish in mountain brooks or deep sea fishing grounds. Sail before a rippling breeze.

Do anything you like to do. Each day is different. Not a moment of boredom. Rest. Relax. That's what you need for a real vacation. It will send you home, after two weeks or two months, fresh and eager for the coming year's activities.

Complete change. Nothing so builds up, revitalizes tired minds and bodies. You'll love it here. And you can come if you choose. Plan now.

Select your accommodations to suit your purse. All kinds are here and all are, on the average, more moderate than you'll find in other sections.

Special round trip summer railroad rates give you the entire trip for little more than one way usually costs. Ask your railroad ticket agent. Or send the coupon to us for additional information.

Come this summer. You'll find it more than you have even hoped. Here is your ideal vacationland. Realize now one of your fondest dreams.

All-Year Club of Southern California

ALL-YEAR CLUB OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA,
Dept. 904, 2601 S. Figueroa St.,
Los Angeles, California.

Please send me full information about the summer and year-round vacation possibilities in Southern California.

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In America's Finest Homes

When the "eternal fitness of things" is observed in furnishing and equipping a fine home, there is only one choice of a refrigerator—the JEWETT.

The same discriminating judgment that selects a pleasing exterior or fine furnishings is quick to recognize the Jewett as the only refrigerator to carry out a plan of "quality throughout".

Glistening white compartments of solid, seamless porcelain, 1¼" thick—safelike walls over five inches thick, heavily insulated with pure cork and perfect circulation and purification of cold dry air, maintain the contents of the Jewett in cold, clean, preservation always, effect an economy of ice or power which offsets its initial cost.

Illustrated catalog on request

The Jewett Refrigerator Co.
118 Chandler St, Buffalo, N. Y.

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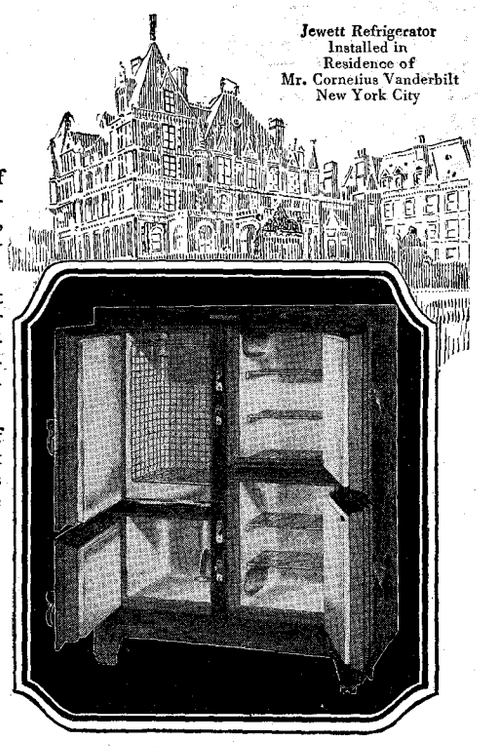

Jewett Refrigerator Installed in Residence of Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt New York City

The illustration shows the actual thickness of Jewett solid porcelain, food and ice compartments. There are no unsanitary corners in Jewett Refrigerators, all corners are rounded.

JEWETT REFRIGERATORS
The Only Solid Porcelain Refrigerator

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE OUTLOOK, PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT NEW YORK, N. Y., FOR APRIL 1, 1924.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Harold T. Pulsifer, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of THE OUTLOOK, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher—The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City. Editor—Ernest H. Abbott, 381 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. City. Managing Editor—Harold T. Pulsifer, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City. Business Manager—Raymond B. Bowen, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.

2. That the owners are: The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City.

Stockholders of The Outlook Company owning 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock:

Lawrence F. Abbott..381 Fourth Ave., New York City	Frank C. Hoyt.....381 Fourth Ave., New York City
Ernest H. Abbott.....381 Fourth Ave., New York City	Harriet Abbott Jordan.415 Washington Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Beatrice V. Abbott....Cornwall-on-Hudson, N. Y.	Helen R. Mabie .....Summit, N. J.
Theodore J. Abbott....160 East 81st St., New York City	Harold T. Pulsifer ....381 Fourth Ave., New York City
Herbert V. Abbott....Smith Col., Northampton, Mass.	N. T. Pulsifer.....Valentine & Co., 456 Fourth Ave., New York City
Alice D. Abbott.....care Lawrence F. Abbott, 381 Fourth Ave., New York City	Lawson V. Pulsifer....Valentine & Co., 456 Fourth Ave., New York City
William H. Childs.....17 Battery Place, New York City	Dorothea V. A. Swift..27 East 62d St., New York City
Walter H. Crittenden.309 Broadway, New York City	Robert D. Townsend..381 Fourth Ave., New York City
William C. Gregg.....330 Prospect Ave., Hackensack, N. J.	

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

(Signed) HAROLD T. PULSIFER, Managing Editor. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of March, 1924.

(Signed) J. LYNN EDDY.

[SEAL] Notary Public, Westchester County; New York County Clerk's No. 68; New York County Register's No. 6067; Certificate filed in New York County; Commission expires March 30, 1926.

dreams"—but they invent nothing to make life easier, a strange state of things to the practical American mind.

The book will prove particularly suggestive to those interested in the beginnings of education for children, but it will be a person of very limited horizons who will fail to get something well worth while from it.

Books Received

FICTION

HERE COMES THE SUN. By Emile Loring. The Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia.

HUSBANDS AND LOVERS. By Franz Molnar. Boni & Liveright, New York. $2.

LONG WALK OF SAMBA DIOUF (THE). By Jerome and Jean Tharand. Duffield & Co., New York. $1.75.

PAULINE. By the Baroness de Knoop. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $2.

PETER BURLING, PIRATE. By Arthur P. Bagby. Dorrance & Co., Philadelphia. $2.

MISCELLANEOUS

ENGLISH FOR IMMEDIATE USE. By Frederick Houk Law. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.60.

HIPPOCRATES. Vol. II. Translated by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50.

LETTERS FROM APPLEHURST. By G. W. Hinckley. The Good Will Publishing Company. Hinckley, Maine. $2.

What is Truth?

MIGHT I venture upon a tentative answer to the time-old question, What is truth?

The answer I herewith offer sprang out of a hard-pressed exigence.

We were engaged in an animated controversy when I made an assertion which bore the obvious mark of exaggeration. It was somewhat on the order of the Biblical outburst upon the veracity of all men. My hasty remark was instantly pounced upon. "Do you mean this to be taken literally?" I was asked. "No, I do not," was my prompt and frank reply. And then, on my part, I turned upon my challenger with this question: "Is it characteristic of the thing or is it not?" With equal candor the answer came, that it was. "Well, if it is characteristic, it is true," I retorted. The character of a thing is the truth of a thing.

Of necessity, truth is an exaggeration as it touches the ultimate phase. Truth relates to the principle, the type, the character. Fact, to the concrete manifestation.

A homely illustration will serve to set my point into relief: Cats are classed as treacherous animals, and yet we have met with individual cats that appeared to us as the embodiment of sweet attachment. The antithesis involved in this situation equates thus: Cats in general are treach-

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erous—that's the truth. This specific cat is not treacherous—that's the fact.

Truth is potential fact. Fact is actual truth.

Here is another illustration: A story made the rounds in England recently that Lloyd George during his stay in America had been so impressed with the workings of the tariff that he resolved to raise the flag of protection upon his return, and on that issue to waft himself into power again. When he was nearing the shores of his country, however, the news was conveyed to him that Mr. Baldwin had forestalled him. Whereupon he executed a face-about, and forthwith trained his guns on such an "untraditional" policy. Now, is not this characteristic of the man? But Lloyd George denies it. Good—his denial, in all decency, we must accept to represent the fact. At the same time the attribution to him of such strategy is the truth none the less—the virtual truth. And the warrant for it lies in the character of this supreme master of opportunism. If he has not done it, he might have done it. It's in him, as we say. Might this offend? I should be intensely sorry. But then truth is bound to hurt, and the only immunity lies in a conversion of character.

In the consideration of a fact we have to have regard for the outward occurrences. In the appreciation of a truth we have regard for the inward character.

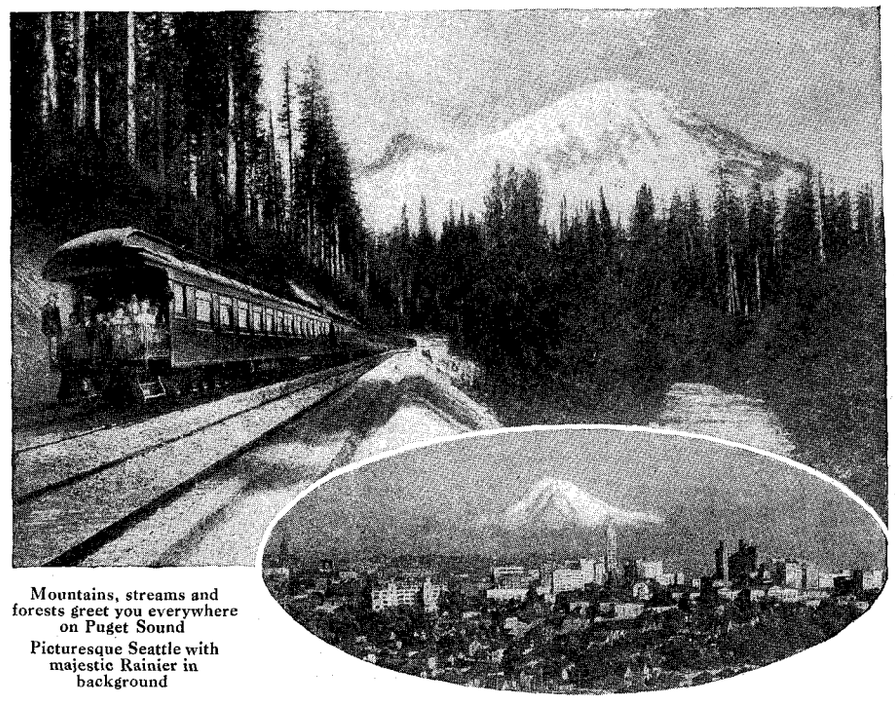
Character is truth, as truth is character.

Is this definition true literally? It is not. If it were, it would not be true. The spirit is what determines. And in the spirit it is gloriously true—Truth is character.

One more example, at the risk of redundance. During the most critical moment of his intransigence to the Lodge-sponsored reservations, it is related, Mr. Wilson received the Ambassador of a foreign Power. The conversation slid onto the League situation, when the visitor took occasion to entreat the President to be less unyielding in his attitude. This was the answer: "I appreciate your motives, Mr. Ambassador, but the Senate must take its medicine."

Did the incident actually occur? I don't know; as who does? Yet who will take it upon himself to denounce it as untrue? Nor would a refutation carry any weight whatsoever or serve a rational end. One might deny the circumstances of the tale—the fact; but not its inward reality—the truth. And why? Because it is held in character. The future historian will commit no offense against the sacredness of truth in recording this episode. GABRIEL WELLS.

New York City.



Mountains, streams and forests greet you everywhere on Puget Sound

Picturesque Seattle with majestic Rainier in background

SEATTLE—*Metropolis of the Pacific Northwest*

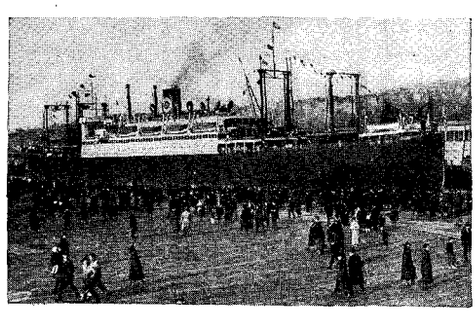
SEATTLE, on Puget Sound, charms because of its unrivaled picturesque setting. It captivates because it is the largest city of its age in America and an outstanding example of progressive Americanism and western initiative.

Seattle is scenically superb — nowhere in America is there an out-of-doors that compares with that of the Puget Sound evergreen country. It is the ideal summer playground with its glorious mountains so easy of access; its paved highways through evergreen forests; its sparkling rivers and sapphire lakes teeming with fish; its expansive landlocked seas for bathing, cruising and restful relaxation.

Your ticket agent will tell you how to secure the low round-trip ticket to Seattle beginning May 15—a choice of routes returning.

Write today for free "*Charmed Land*" booklet which describes and pictures America's healthiest city, tells about the mild, green winters and cool summers. Tells why fascinating Seattle is the center of America's Summer Playground. Write Chamber of Commerce, 903 Arctic Building, Seattle, Washington, for your copy.

Gateway to the Orient and Alaska



Trans-Pacific liner docking in Seattle at pier 41, the largest ocean dock in the world

Seventy per cent of trans-Pacific mail moves through the Seattle postoffice and eighty per cent of the raw silk imported from the Orient is handled through Seattle, base for the government owned fleet of five $8,000,000 passenger ships, which hold the record for fast sailing from an American port to Japan, China and the Philippines. Puget Sound is where the American, Japanese and British merchant marines are contesting for trans-Pacific supremacy because it is the nearest gateway to the 500,000,000 people of the Orient. When you travel to the Orient sail from Seattle, which is four days nearer the Orient than any other American port.

THESE ADVERTISEMENTS PAID FOR BY SEATTLE CITIZENS WHO INVITE YOU TO SEE "*The Charmed Land*"

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Financial Department

The Financial Department is prepared to furnish information regarding standard investment securities, but cannot undertake to *advise* the purchase of any specific security. It will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, and a nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service. All letters of inquiry should be addressed to THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York.

Prices and Demand

ANY one who has ever attended an auction sale knows that the prices received for the objects sold are dependent upon the number of bidders and the keenness of their bidding. An auction is an almost perfect illustration of how prices are affected by demand.

People don't always realize that the price of practically everything they buy also is determined by the demand for it. A good auctioneer encourages as many people as possible to bid for what he is selling, and as he stimulates their desire for the articles in question the more they are willing to pay for them. He is a kind of combination advertising and sales manager, and like all good advertising managers he tries to create

When Is a Good Time to Buy Bonds?

THOSE of widest experience have learned that funds for investment should not be kept idle awaiting problematical developments in the bond market. They know that, in the long run, the steady employment of such funds is the better policy. To wait for lower market prices is always uncertain; in interest lost, you may pay a material forfeit for the waiting.

Bonds should be bought for security and income. When exchanged or traded in for speculative profit, the essential purpose of this form of investment is perverted.

Invest Systematically

Moreover, the habit of steady, systematic investment of funds as they come to hand, increases the accumulation because it helps avoid unnecessary spending. And, when prompt reinvestment of bond interest is also practised, the growth of principal is surprising.

To the investor who desires to make the safest and most productive use of investment funds, it is especially valuable to become a client of a large resourceful house such as Halsey, Stuart & Co. Such an organization has broad investing experience gained over many years. It knows values. Its operations are extensive. It underwrites—not merely distributes—bonds of many types. So, it can help the buyer diversify his holdings to the best advantage.

Complete Service

Halsey, Stuart & Co. facilities meet every need of the conservative bond investor. Its issues are high grade. Its service has the qualities which only a large and broadly experienced organization can provide. Through several offices, and by correspondence, this service is readily available.

"BONDS—QUESTIONS ANSWERED; TERMS DEFINED"—*This booklet, indexed for ready reference, covers questions which observation has shown most frequently present themselves to investors when selecting or handling bond investments. The experienced as well as the beginning investor will find it valuable. Ask for booklet OL-4.*

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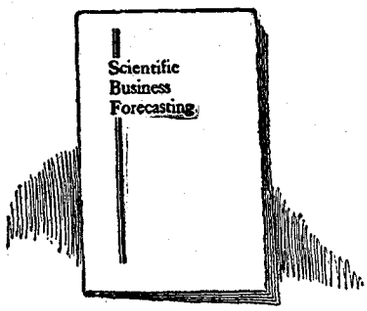


This booklet will be sent without charge

The business cycle made clear

Business conditions are never normal. Booms give way to depressions which, in turn, pave the way for recovery and prosperity.

Fortunately the course of business is not merely haphazard. Changes can be forecast many months in advance, enabling executives to plan accordingly.

Practical facts about the business cycle are clearly set forth in the booklet, "Scientific Business Forecasting." We shall gladly send it to you on request, without charge or obligation.

The subscription price of the Service is $100 a year.

HARVARD ECONOMIC SERVICE

77 Abbot Building
Cambridge, Mass.

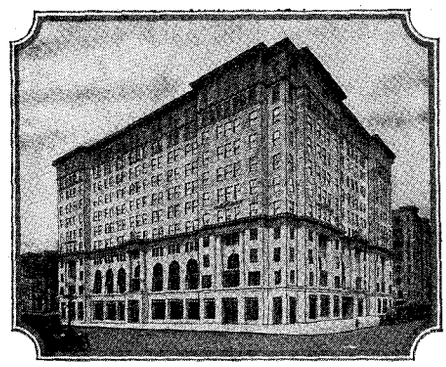
a demand for his goods, and then as sales manager he sells the goods for the best price he can get.

After all, isn't every business operated on exactly the same principle? Quality and service are considerations, of course, but they are good advertising too, and they create a demand, and keep prices up. It pays the automobile manufacturer to produce a good car, but his real problem is to give the best he can for the price he feels that people will pay, and if he cannot sell for more than it costs him to manufacture he fails. In addition he must be very careful not to manufacture more cars than he can dispose of, not to supply more than the demand warrants—and just now it is said that sales are being very closely watched and the demand foreseen as closely as possible. Cars unsold mean credit tied up, and frozen credits have wrecked many an enterprise. But automobile companies are no different from other businesses, and we merely cite them as an example.

The man whose business is steel, or who grows cotton or wheat, has the same problems as the automobile manufacturer, and his prosperity is dependent upon his ability to solve them successfully. Follow the quotations on the cotton exchange and see how quickly bad weather in the cotton belt and threatened damage to the crop will send the price of cotton up. In other words, a shortage of cotton means that the supply will be unequal to the demand, that competition for the available supply will be keen, and prices will advance.

So with wheat. We have seen recently how overproduction can send prices tumbling down, and how not only wheat but many farm products cannot be sold for what it cost to prepare them for the markets. Such a situation makes life difficult for the farmers, and we hear much talk about granting them relief and insuring them against any repetition of the debacle, but not all the troubles of our agricultural population are due to unavoidable circumstances. Some of the troubles that vex farmers are due to the fact that they have not looked ahead or that their guess about prices and demand has been wrong. If the shoe companies of this country produced so many pairs of shoes that they couldn't sell them at cost, would that be hard luck or poor business?

Price fixing cannot change the law of supply and demand. The labor unions have tried to do it by establishing a certain monetary wage for a certain number of hours' work, but can any one deny that demands for wage increases are successful only when the supply of labor is scarce? Does any one pay any more for anything than he has to? Doesn't the



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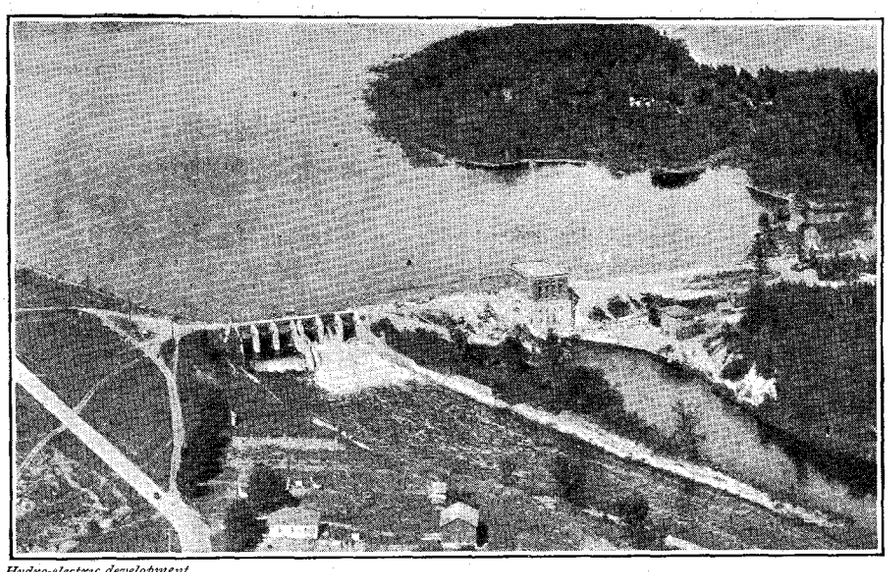

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BONDS SHORT TERM NOTES ACCEPTANCES

most enthusiastic union man, the man who insists loudest upon a fixed scale of wages for himself and his fellows, spend his wages where he can buy most cheaply? Of course he does.

To digress somewhat, it seems to us that taxes should also be based so far as possible upon supply and demand. The demand is what the Government requires to run its affairs in an orderly, economical manner, and the supply is what the people can well pay to enable such a programme to be carried out. Taxes should never be levied for the purpose of imposing a penalty upon people with money. And excessive taxation, like over-production, accomplishes the opposite of what is intended.

Supply and demand have a very important effect upon prices in the securities markets. The bond market at the time this is written is an example in point. No large new issues have been floated recently, and the people with money for bond investment must therefore look to the floating supply of bonds to afford an outlet for their funds. Dealings in bond markets, therefore, have been active, and as brisk bidding is taking place prices are tending upward, which may be a temporary situation. New issues are offered when conditions seem most propitious, and the borrowing companies naturally want to sell their bonds for as much as they can get for them; when prices go up, new issues appear, the supply of bonds is increased, and prices sag. The most successful bankers are those who can best gauge market conditions and foretell most accurately when a new offering can be most easily absorbed. If the market is glutted with bonds and a new issue is put out at, say, 98, and before the bonds can all be sold the price has fallen to 95, the banker stands to lose a lot of money.

The stock market goes up when the number of buyers exceed the number of sellers. Conversely, prices go down when the supply of stocks exceeds the demand. Unless the "public" is "in the market" it is almost impossible for prices to maintain any steady upward course, for without the public's money the demand for stocks is not great enough to keep the demand in excess of the supply. Just now, as every one knows, the market is a rather listless, drifting affair, with no pronounced tendency either way. There are several reasons why this should be: the involved state of international politics, the somewhat uncertain condition of industry in this country, and the unquestionable fact that the disclosures at Washington have shaken people's faith, not only in Government, but in business too. And the stock and bond markets are, in the last analysis, really nothing

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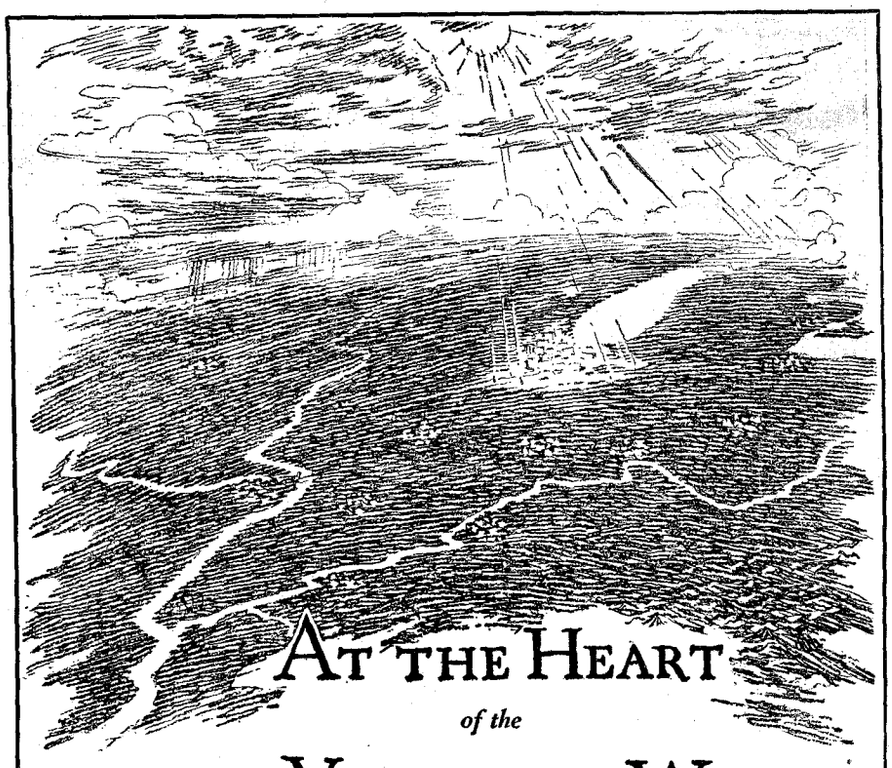
more than reflections of what the people think about business.

Of course the time to buy securities is when they are low. That is to say, when prices generally are low—not low-priced securities, necessarily, which are selling at low levels because there is something wrong with them. The people who bought Liberty Bonds at 82, for instance, have made a handsome profit; those who subscribed for them at par and sold at 82 lost 18 points. When prices are going up there are always more buyers than when prices are going down. That is logical, but who can say which is cause and which effect? Perhaps there is a double explanation, for it is well known that the average investor is no different from any other human being, in that he does a thing because some one else is doing it. Pretty soon, for instance, we shall all be wearing straw hats; but who of us would have the temerity to wear one now, no matter how warm the weather? Similarly, if the stock market should suddenly turn bullish and prices show a tendency to creep steadily higher, we'd wait a while and then decide it was a good time to buy. We'd buy at a higher price than if we'd acted more quickly, however. Similarly, the faster prices go down and the further they advance in that direction, the more people there are ready to sell. Yet who has not heard the story of the small boy who asked his rich neighbor how he made all his money? The answer was, "I buy my straw hats in the fall."

It is not easy for the average person to know when to buy or sell securities. It is perhaps natural for him to follow the crowd, for with numbers on his side he acquires confidence and thinks that what others are doing must be all right for him to do too. He knows, however, or should know, that when every one else is buying the demand is bound to be brisk, and prices correspondingly high. The best investments are about as sound in times of business uncertainty as when trade is booming, and the discriminating purchaser can often do better for himself then than is possible otherwise. We do not think it pays to try to buy at the lowest price always, nor to sell at the very top, for the person who attempts to get too much often loses out entirely. On the other hand, why should an investor wait for a big bull market before putting his funds to work? If he has cash available, he can usually buy to better advantage when the demand is slack and prices low.



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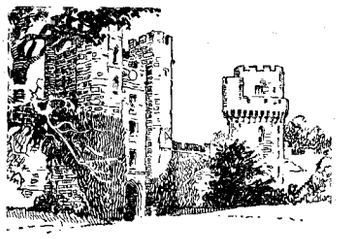

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A property with acreage, lawns, and gardens, flower and vegetable, in Pelham Manor. Stone and shingle house, 15 rooms, 5 baths, all modern improvements; 3 minutes from Long Island Sound, 30 minutes to your office; considered one of the beautiful places in the county.
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Furnished throughout. 3 bedrooms, large living-room with stone fireplace, dining-room, kitchen, and bathroom. Wood, ice, and rowboat included. Terms moderate. For full particulars address 1,149, Outlook.

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FOR SALE—ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, CHARLOTTE, VT., near BURLINGTON
2 furnished cottages, 10 and 7 rooms; fireplaces; icehouses, garages, boats, 2 and 1 acres. Safe shore for children. $3,700 and $2,000. Mrs. C. A. AUSTIN, 294 Reynolds Terrace, Orange, N. J.

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Lantern Slides For Sale Colored and uncolored, of scenery, architecture, and art of France, Spain, Italy, and Sicily. Apply before May 1. E. Leggett, 155 West 58th St., New York City.

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Elsie Schedin } Featherland Farm,
Gertrude Buckler } Norristown, Pa., Route 1.

"Indello" Transters (just ironed on). Permanently mark your clothing and linens quickly. 100 of your name or your initials—$1. **Permanent Marking Co., Chestnut Hill, Phila., Pa.**

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MUSICAL

ORGANIST and choir director of experience wishes position in New York metropolitan area. Highest references. Address Box 825, Stamford, Conn.

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UNUSUALLY desirable stationery for any type of correspondence. 200 sheets high grade note paper and 100 envelopes printed with your name and address postpaid $1.50. Samples on request. You can buy cheaper stationery, but do you want to? Lewis, 284 Second Ave., Troy, N. Y.

MOST DESIRABLE printed stationery for personal use. Your name and address on 200 fine quality bond note sheets and 100 envelopes for $1, postpaid east of Denver; elsewhere, $1.15. Double sheet style, $1.50. Record Press, Box 127, Cedar Falls, Iowa.

PERSONAL STATIONERY — 200 single sheets, 100 envelopes, nicely printed on Hammermill bond, dark blue ink, postpaid $1.00. Beyond third zone add 10c. Frank B. Hicks, Macedon Center, N. Y.

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CO-OPERATIVE PLACEMENT SERVICE. Institutional executives and assistants. Social workers, secretaries, housekeepers. dietitians, cafeteria managers. Companions, governesses, mothers' helpers. The Richards' Bureau, 68 Barnes St., Providence.

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HOTELS NEED TRAINED MEN AND WOMEN. Nation-wide demand for high-salaried men and women. Past experience unnecessary. We train you by mail and put you in touch with big opportunities. Big pay, fine living, interesting work, quick advancement, permanent. Write for free book, "YOUR BIG OPPORTUNITY." Lewis Hotel Training Schools, Suite K 5842, Washington, D. C.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

WANTED—Competent, trustworthy person to assist mother in care of two boys, four and seven years, and do upstairs work. Write Mrs. William Hobbs, 103 Main St., Binghamton, N. Y.

WANTED—Housekeeper for large summer resort at Minnewaska, N. Y. May 1 to October 1. Apply John K. Lathrop, 50 Warren St., Ellenville, N. Y.

WANTED—Competent, reliable woman to do cooking and assist with housework in family of four. Write Mrs. William Hobbs, 103 Main St., Binghamton, N. Y.

MOTHER'S HELPER, three little children, Virginia farm. Forty dollars monthly. Mrs. Alexis Smith, Pelham Court, Germantown, Philadelphia.

Teachers and Governesses

WANTED — Nursery governess, French, between twenty-five and thirty-five. Must be thoroughly competent and experienced. Pleasing personality, bright and cheerful, musical, understand physical development, penmanship round hand, perfect health. "Penllyn," Morristown, N. J.

WANTED—A nursery governess, Protestant. Four children, aged 8, 6, 4 years and twenty months, respectively. 4,825, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Business Situations

EXPERIENCED woman desires position as buyer and caterer in hotel, club, tea-room, or institution. Ten years' experience. Address 4,824, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED interviewer, free to travel as desired, offers services to high class school, expenses and salary or per diem. Include offer first letter. Reference Amble. 4,829, Outlook.

SECRETARY—Woman with secretarial experience, good education and background, wishes position as secretary and registrar in private school. 4,811, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

CAPABLE, experienced, cultured woman would manage widower's home or act as companion-housekeeper. Unusually successful with children. Musical. Unencumbered. Would travel. 4,798, Outlook.

YOUNG woman desires position for fall. Housemother or hostess in girls' school, sorority or fraternity house. References. 4,768, Outlook.

WANTED, in Presbyterian family, position as caretaker of children ages 7 to 13—boys preferred. City, country, or travel. Address 4,751, Outlook.

WANT, position for friends in summer camp or club, one as housemother, other as practical dietitian. 4,801, Outlook.

HIGH school teacher, widow of 39, desires position as traveling companion, social private secretary, or governess-teacher. Protestant, reliable, efficient. Mrs. Hoffines, 165 West Park Ave., Columbus, Ohio.

WANTED, by graduate nurse, physician's widow, aged forty-eight, position in girls' school, college, physician's office, or as housekeeper in refined home. Capable, congenial, and willing. Highest credentials. Any State. 4,827, Outlook.

YOUNG Englishwoman as companion or secretary. Highly educated, good appearance, widely traveled, secretarial training, practical nursing experience, good packer, excellent seamstress. Congenial association with superior family more important than salary. 4,804, Outlook.

CULTURED middle-aged woman, expert managing housekeeper, seeks position where maid is kept. Mrs. F. A. Miller, Allerton House, 130 East 57th St., New York.

WANTED, by young French lady, college professor, position as companion or tutor during summer. 4,808, Outlook.

TEACHER, mature woman, adaptable, wants vacation work. Would take charge of children during absence of parents, or tutor children under 12, or act as companion. Willing to travel. 4,813, Outlook.

TEACHER with several years' experience in primary and intermediate grade work desires summer position with family planning travel, preferably ocean travel. Willing to assist in care of children or aged couple. Excellent references. 4,814, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED managing housekeeper, companion. Position of trust desired by Southern lady. References. 4,815, Outlook.

WEEKLY letters to "shut-ins." Whimsical, personal, 35c. Blakewhiting, Branford, Conn.

Teachers and Governesses

WANTED, by two Southern girls, born, reared, and educated in the South, employment to teach in a girls' camp for the summer. Employed at present in a standard Texas college. Best of references will be furnished and references will be required. Address Box 774, Abilene, Tex.

AMERICAN nursery governess, experienced, refined. Highest recommendations. 4,790, Outlook.

GOVERNESS, mother's helper. Educated, experienced woman desires position. 4,820, Outlook.

TUTOR or companion this summer, college junior, young woman; will travel. References. 4,828, Outlook.

GOVERNESS. YOUNG girl desires position for summer; understands children. References. 4,826, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED French-Swiss (Geneva) teacher wishes summer position as teacher-governess or companion. Philadelphia references. 4,806, Outlook.

TEACHER, recent graduate of Princeton, wishes to act as tutor or companion for summer either in Europe or this country. 4,812, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

TO young women desiring training in the care of obstetrical patients a six months' nurses' aid course is offered by the Lying-In Hospital, 307 Second Ave., New York. Aids are provided with maintenance and given a monthly allowance of $10. For further particulars address Directress of Nurses.

SHOPPING by New York expert who will send things, services free. References. Hattie Guthman, 309 West 99th St.

WANTED, by experienced practical nurse, occupying comfortable apartment, an elderly lady or couple to whom she could give exceptional care. Excellent cook. Equable disposition. Terms made satisfactory. Unquestionable references. 4,807, Outlook.

FRENCH woman, teacher, sailing June the 5th for Paris and Geneva, returning August the 28th, will chaperon girls going to or coming from Europe. Apply to 4,809, Outlook.

M. W. Wightman & Co. Shopping Agency, established 1895. No charge; prompt delivery. 25 West 24th St., New York.

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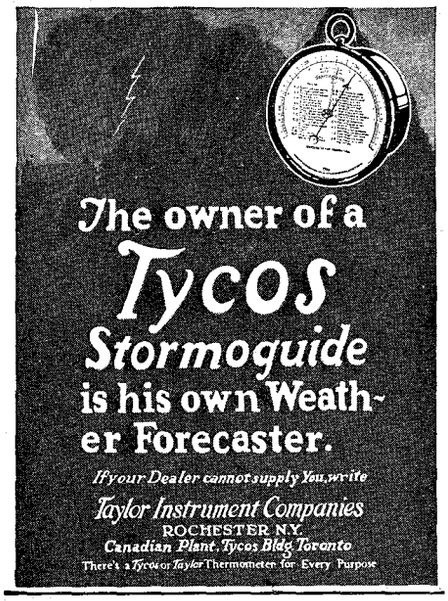
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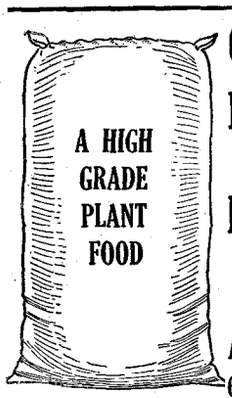

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By the Way

ALMOST one-seventh of the Negro population of the United States were free before the Emancipation resulting from the Civil War, we are told by the "Journal of Negro History." Even as early as 1830 there were thousands of free Negroes, and the astonishing fact appears that as many as 4,500 of these were themselves slave-owners! "The census records show," the "Journal" says, "that the majority of the Negro owners of slaves were such from the point of view of philanthropy. In many instances the husband purchased the wife, or *vice versa*.

"Slaves of Negroes were in some cases the children of a free father who had purchased his wife. If he did not thereafter emancipate the mother, as so many such husbands failed to do, his own children were born his slaves and were thus reported by the enumerators. Some of these husbands considered it advisable to put their wives on probation for a few years, and if they did not find them satisfactory they would sell them. For example, a Negro shoemaker in Charleston, South Carolina, purchased his wife for $700; but, on finding her hard to please, he sold her in a few months thereafter for $750, gaining $50 by the transaction." The "Journal" does not say whether the wife felt that she also was a gainer by the transaction.

From the "Rural New Yorker:"

A scientific joker in Iowa promised to give a starch factory to his friend, and then took him out and presented him with a hill of cornstalks. Then he showed that the stalks were making starch as fast as their green leaves could work.

A million freight cars every week last year from April 29 to December 22, inclusive, were loaded and hauled to destination by the railways of the United States. With locomotives and cabooses added these cars would make a train encircling the United States, or 8,587 miles in length.

The expert had delivered his address before the town lyceum on "How to Bring up Children Properly," a subscriber reports. He was going home in an automobile with his host for the night and several friends. They discussed the lecture and waxed hot about some moot points, as people always do when discussing this subject. Finally one of the disputants said to the lecturer's host, who was driving the car and like a sensible man was keeping his eye on the machine, "Charlie, what do you think about it? You haven't said a word." "Well," was the reply, "I don't know much about it. I have only one child." The questioner began to laugh, and the others said, "What is so funny?" "Just this: For one thing, Charlie is the only one on this entertainment committee who has any children, and he has kept mum. For another thing, I'm laughing to think that I am one of twelve children who kept my mother so busy making the bunch behave that she never had time to go to a lecture on bringing up children. I think the joke is on our lecturer."

"No," was the lecturer's come-back, "the joke is on your mother. If she had listened to a lecture like mine she wouldn't have had the trouble she did have in making her jewels behave themselves. The joke is on her—and you."

From "Williams Purple Cow:"

Motorist—"I'd like a dozen eggs, please."

Farmer—"I haven't a dozen; I got only ten."

Motorist—"Well, are they fresh?"

Farmer—"They're so fresh the hen didn't have time to finish the dozen."

What accounts of personal adventure during the Great War, that have so far been published, are the most interesting, dramatic, and well written? The question came up the other day among a group of readers, and the verdict was that Richard Harding Davis's "To Be Treated as a Spy" took the first place. Other "thrillers" mentioned were Lieutenant George Puryear's account of his escape from a German prison, and Commander Isaacs's story of his capture, imprisonment, and escape. Doubtless accounts of the experiences of English, French, and other participants in the great struggle have appeared, or will yet be published, that will rank with these little masterpieces.

A subscriber asks if some reader of The Outlook can give the complete words of a little song, popular many years ago, the first stanza of which runs:

The ground was all covered with snow one day,
When two little children were busy at play,
And a snow-bird was sitting outside on a tree
And merrily singing his chick-a-dee-dee,
Chick-a-dee-dee, chick-a-dee-dee,
And merrily singing his chick-a-dee-dee.

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